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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

PART XV.

| E 10/10/44 | No. 1.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 2, 1928.)

(No. 640.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December 27, 1927.*

IN his despatch No. 560 of the 9th November last, and in previous despatches, His Majesty's Ambassador reported on a plot against the Ghazi conducted from Greek territory by one Haji Sami. There is reason to suppose that, since discovering that plot, the Turkish Government have been pressing the Greek Government to keep a closer watch on the many Turkish exiles now in Greece, and, according to news which has been received from Athens, the Greek authorities have now required half-a-dozen Turks who were living in the neighbourhood of Gumuljina in Western Thrace, to move to the safer sphere of the Archipelago. The chief of these persons is the former Sheikh-ul Islam Kustafa Sabri Bey, one of the first names on the list of the proscribed 150. The press records this measure of the Greek authorities with some satisfaction.

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE.

| E 17/17/44 | No. 2.

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 2, 1928.)

(No. 649.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December 28, 1927.*

NO little stir has been caused here these last few days by the announcement that the Government proposes to impeach the last Minister of Marine for peculation. It does not seem that such a thing has ever been done before. It is true that from time to time officials have been made to retire when their depredations were felt to have become intolerable. Such was the case with the last prefect of this city, and such appears to be the case at this moment with the treasurer of the Grand National Assembly, who is charged not merely with advancing Deputies' salaries at arbitrary rates of interest, but also with accommodating himself with monies belonging more strictly to the Assembly. But tradition may be broken in the case of the treasurer too, and he may be prosecuted, as he should be. In any event, what is proposed for Ihsan Bey, the late Minister of Marine, is a formal impeachment before a High Court to be set up in accordance with the hitherto unused authority contained in article 61 of the Constitution. This is a thing which comes to men as a shock and makes them wonder whether they should not revise their ideas of the possibilities of high public function. Such a surprise is it, indeed, that in the end no one believes that there will be any impeachment at all or that, if there is, its object will not be something much more understandable than the mere encouragement of official integrity.

2. The scandal in which Ihsan Bey is involved arises out of the perennial difficulty of the repair of the "Goeben" or "Yavouz," on which His Majesty's Ambassador last reported in his despatch No. 469 of the 7th September, 1927. The

later facts are that the "Société des Cinq Chantiers de France" had a long wrangle over the contract, which was made after the accident to the "Goeben" and the dock. By the original contract, the société had agreed to pay the salary of an expert to superintend the safety of the ship and dock during the refit, and had also undertaken to pay the premiums for insuring the ship and dock over the same period.

3. The terms of payment by the Turkish Government to the société also provided for a considerable interval elapsing between the commencement of work and the first instalment. After the accident to the dock had occurred in December 1926, the underwriters raised the premium for insurance from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent. In view of this increase and the long delay in repairing the dock, the société approached the Minister of Marine with a request that the contract should be modified in their favour by—

(i.) Arranging that the Turkish Government should share cost of insurance.
(ii.) The expert should be dispensed with or paid by the Turkish Government.
(iii.) Accelerating the date for first payment.

The request was submitted to the Cabinet, who rejected these proposals, and decided that the société should be held to their original contract. The grounds on which, on the 24th instant, Ismet Pasha asked for the impeachment of his late colleague were that despite the decision of the Cabinet, a fresh contract embodying these modifications was entered into with the société, and hurriedly concluded on Ihsan Bey's last day of office. The Assembly has set up, by a unanimous vote, of course, a committee to report in a fortnight.

4. There have naturally been many explanations of an incident which is felt to have been only partially revealed. It has been suggested that the new Cabinet, convinced at last of the folly of spending money on the "Yavouz," wants to wriggle out of the contract, and that Ihsan Bey, having a thick skin and being an old friend of the Ghazi, does not mind the loss of public repute (if indeed such a thing would not enhance it), is assured of favour in high places, and has no objection, therefore, to being pilloried in order to oblige his late colleagues. As against this, it is said that the final contract made with the French combine was countersigned by the new Minister of Finance and, therefore, presumably approved by the new Cabinet. It is not unlikely, to quote another suggestion, that bickerings between the Turkish adherents of the rival French and German groups have had their echo in high quarters. According to one theory, at any rate, Ismet Pasha's attempted immolation of Ihsan Bey indicates a revival of a rivalry which there was between the Prime Minister and Ali Bey, "the hanging judge," said to be Ihsan Bey's patron. But we need more evidence before believing in a serious split among the guiding spirits of Angora.

5. In his speech of the 24th instant, Ismet Pasha stated that his brother had been approached by a representative of the société to intervene in their favour, but had indignantly refused and reported the affair to himself. Rumour has it, however, that the brother does not come out of the affair with clean hands, and hence the decision to fix attention on Ihsan Bey, who will subsequently be cleared by a scapegoat being found in some minor official of the marine.

6. Ihsan is stated to have declared that he did not receive a piastre. This is believed to be true, as all bribes (£T. 70,000) are said to have been paid to his wife.

7. It is said again that the Ghazi was displeased to find that Ihsan Bey had taken workmen away from the arsenal to build himself a sumptuous villa at Angora, and that he had robbed the old Admiralty garden of its best trees. Impressed with the luxury of Ihsan Bey's new home, the Ghazi is reported to have made to him the remark addressed by an English sovereign to a greater Minister, namely, that he only needed a crown to be the king. This story may be true, but, for the moment, the only thing which is certain is the uncertainty as to the real cause of the trouble.

I have, &c.
R. H. HOARE.

E 126/126/44 No. 3.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 9.)

(No. 2.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 4, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a report on the budget estimates of revenue and expenditure for the financial year 1928-29,* which has

* Not printed.

been drawn up by the Ottoman Bank, as well as a copy of the draft law introducing the budget.*

2. The estimates, as well as the *ad hoc* law, have recently been submitted to the Parliamentary Budget Commission, and are, therefore, liable to modification.

3. Revenue as estimated by the Ministry of Finance attains £T. 206,298,045, against an estimated expenditure of £T. 206,291,668. The Ministry of Finance has, therefore, as in the case of the budget estimates for the current year, presented the National Assembly with a budget showing a small credit balance.

4. Although every effort is being concentrated on the establishment of more precise budgets, the surplus is, as the Ottoman Bank points out in its report, without doubt theoretical.

Revenue.

5. Revenue estimated by the Ministry of Finance at £T. 206,298,045, compared to the approved estimates for the current year amounting to £T. 194,580,554, shows a surplus of £T. 11,717,491, or an increase of 6·02 per cent., but, as the Ottoman Bank observes (p. 2 of the report), the surplus revenue should be £T. 11,579,911, certain necessary adjustments having to be taken into account.

6. With the exception of a sum of £T. 1,030,000, which is to be obtained as the result of a re-adaptation of the stamp duties and from an annuity payable by the concessionaires of the monopoly for the manufacture and import of shot for sporting cartridges, the estimated surplus is to be derived from existing sources of State revenue, of which the following are worthy of note:—

An estimated surplus of—

£T. 2,050,000 to be obtained from the profits tax.
£T. 951,500 to be obtained from the cattle tax.
£T. 1,000,000 to be obtained from the transaction tax.
£T. 4,500,000 to be obtained from the tobacco, tumboki and cigarette paper monopolies.
£T. 1,500,000 to be obtained from the salt monopoly.
£T. 1,500,000 to be obtained from the sugar and petroleum monopolies.

7. It will be observed by reference to the Ottoman Bank's report that considerable doubt exists as to whether the surplus revenue is obtainable.

Expenditure.

8. A sum of £T. 206,291,668 is proposed by the Ministry of Finance to meet expenditure in 1928-29, which, compared to the approved expenditure for the current year amounting to £T. 195,954,619, shows an increase of £T. 10,337,049.

9. Although the estimated surplus revenue is equivalent to this increased expenditure, cuts to the amount of £T. 4,694,683 had to be made in certain of the departmental votes, in order to meet the increased credits, amounting to over £T. 15,000,000, allocated to the following Departments:—

An increase of—

£T. 5,000,000 for the payment of the coupons.
£T. 7,020,000 for payments in respect to railway construction.
£T. 985,904 to provide for additional diplomatic posts.
£T. 196,160 representing increased expenditure in the National Assembly.
£T. 41,293 representing increased expenditure in the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.
£T. 76,958 for the Directorate of Statistics.
£T. 200,000 for the Ministry of Health.
£T. 90,464 for Public Security.
£T. 353,390 for the Ministry of Justice.
£T. 399,070 for the Ministry of Public Instruction.
£T. 78,536 for the Ministry of Commerce.
£T. 200,000 for the Ministry of Agriculture.
£T. 400,000 for the Ministry of Marine.

* Not printed.

10. The sum of £T. 4,694,683 has been obtained as the result of cuts in expenditure of the following Departments:—

	£T.
Council of State	7,211
Ministry of Finance	496,279
Cadastre	41,012
Ministry of Interior	1,090,000
Posts and Telegraphs	54,715
Gendarmerie	969,977
Refugees	1,153,776
Press	21,163
Presidency of Cults	45,892
Ports	102,658
National Defence	621,933
Military factories	85,000
Maps section	5,067

11. It will be observed by reference to the bank's report that the vote for National Defence represents £T. 33·75 per cent. of the total budget, as against 39·60 and 36 per cent. for 1926–27 and 1927–28 respectively.

12. The sum allocated to the service of the Public Debt, viz., £T. 14,847,709, includes a provision of £T. 12,126,045 for the external debt, the remainder, £T. 2,748,664, being earmarked for the internal debt.

Although the vote for the external debt shows an increase of £T. 5,000,000, as compared to that for the current financial year, this allocation is far short of that provisionally agreed upon by the Turkish Government and the bondholders in Paris.

A nominal, and insufficient, allocation for the external debt has appeared in Turkish budgets during the past three or four years, but the credit has in practice been devoted to other purposes.

13. As already stated in paragraph 2 of this despatch, the budget is liable to modification, and if the views of the Ottoman Bank as regards revenue estimates are shared by the Parliamentary Commission, the Government will be faced with the following alternatives: a general cut in Government expenditure, or the creation of further sources of revenue. As regards the latter alternative, I see no reason to modify the view expressed in my despatch No. 102 of the 5th March last that the high-water mark of taxation has been reached.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 127/127/44] No. 4.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 9.)

(No. 3.)
Sir, *Constantinople, January 4, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit, with reference to my despatch No. 581 of the 23rd November last, copy of an article,* written by Mahmud Bey, Deputy for Sert, and generally believed to be among the Ghazi's confidential advisers, on Turco-Soviet relations.

2. The writer reiterates the friendly sentiments of mutual esteem that animate the two neighbouring Governments—probably as a reminder to Greece and other foreign nations that Turkey still has Russia as a potential ally despite the recent action taken by the Turkish Government against the Communists of this country.

3. At the same time he ingeniously manages to remind that Government that it has no right to complain of this anti-Communist campaign, even if the Third International is affected by it, by quoting the old story that the Soviet Government habitually disclaims responsibility for the actions of the Third International.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

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* Not printed.

[E 128/128/44] No. 5.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 9.)

(No. 4.)
Sir, *Constantinople, January 4, 1928.*

I HAD hoped that more light might be thrown on the conspiracy led by Merjan Altunian and described in my despatch No. 486 of the 21st September, 1927, but the trial has now ended with the condemnation of certain of his accomplices, Turkish and Armenian, to terms of imprisonment and without any revelation of his real motives. During the trial, some of the accused and of the witnesses stated that Merjan Altunian was in touch with the Soviet consulate-general here, and that he had exhorted them in the name of Bolshevism to make the attack on Yildiz, which was the supposed object of the gang. But these statements, easy to make when Merjan Altunian was dead, do not appear convincing. If Soviet agents had been at work, it would have been for something more serious than an attack on the Yildiz casino. Nor does the theory of an attack on the casino hold water any better, for, at the time when the conspirators were caught, the casino had already been closed and the cash removed.

2. It seems probable that the police believed that they were nipping in the bud some political plot, possibly a project to make an attempt on the Ghazi's life. If this be not so, it is curious that no more plausible explanation of the incident is forthcoming. The only conclusion established with certainty is that the policemen killed were shot by their own colleagues by mistake in the scuffle which ensued in the dark. It was announced during the investigations that there were signs of the complicity of Rahmi Bey, the Committee of Union and Progress leader who was for many years Vali of Smyrna, but all hopes of interesting revelations in this direction were dashed by the examining magistrate's decision of *non-lieu*.

3. In usually well-informed local circles it is freely stated that the whole "plot" was made up by the police at the behest of the Minister of the Interior, who desired to convince the Ghazi of his faithful service at a time when he was in danger of falling out of favour. For this purpose they turned a band of malefactors into a dangerous political gang seeking the Ghazi's life.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 129/129/44] No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 9.)

(No. 5.)
Sir, *Constantinople, January 4, 1928.*

THE utterances as well as the acts of the present rulers of Turkey show that at the back of their minds, when they preach the need of better hygiene, improved agriculture and a census of the population, is the need of ensuring for their country a sufficient population to make their proposed network of railways at least a necessity if not a financial success.

2. Their methods of increasing the population of the country therefore seem paradoxical and even devoid of common sense to a casual observer.

3. On the one hand they advertise the desire of Cypriots, Syrians, and other Moslem inhabitants from the Dodecanese, Caucasus and elsewhere to settle in Turkey. The press states that land and houses made vacant by the departure of the Greek elements are being apportioned to Cypriots in the Smyrna neighbourhood; that land in North-Eastern Turkey is being prepared for a large influx of Moslems from the Caucasus, that Eastern Thrace is being populated by emigrants from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece in considerable numbers.

4. This is patently propaganda, since the Bulgarian elements who have reached Adrianople, are being left, starving and destitute, to the mercies of a totally inadequate local charity, the emigrants from Thrace, who are trying to eke out a

livelihood in the Gulf of Ismid by fishing, are on the verge of starvation and receiving no help or encouragement from the local authorities, and the Cypriots, at all events, have met with little practical encouragement. Of the influx of population from the Caucasus nothing is known, although the Turkish Government was reported some time back to have signed a convention with the authorities in the Caucasus for regulating this matter and to be engaged in erecting houses and parcelling land against the coming of an estimated host of 60,000, most of whom doubtless exist only in the imagination of the officials concerned.

5. At all events, the total number of persons thus attracted into Turkey cannot make any appreciable difference to the population and the other side of the picture is strange if not melancholy.

6. Of the struggle against the Kurds in the eastern provinces you have already been advised. Shukri Kaya Bey, the new Minister of the Interior, is said to have seen the foolishness of endeavouring to tame this mountainous and virile people by wiping out their leaders, burning their villages and closing the passes leading to their grazing grounds in the hope that once more the problem of a dissentient minority could be resolved in the traditional Turkish manner by the disappearance of the race as a corporate entity. If such is the case Turkey is happy to have found at least one statesman who can see the interests of his country through the narrowing mist of prejudice that excludes all but Turanian Turks from participation in the regeneration of the new Turkey.

7. But such views are evidently not shared by the majority of the Cabinet, if the treatment of the Orthodox Arab elements established around Adana be taken as a criterion. For some time past the Turkish delegation on the Exchange Commission has endeavoured to argue that these people, who have been in Turkey for untold generations, should be ejected on the ground of their religion. To them the test of a Turk lies evidently in his religion, and since these Arabs have embraced the Orthodox faith they are *ipso facto* Greeks and should consequently follow the latter into exile. Their anger and chagrin at the contrary decision rendered last week by the neutral members of the Exchange Commission pushes the press even to accuse the latter of partiality and the French authorities of intervening with the present dictator in Spain to bring influence to bear on General de Lara in favour of the Arabs, who are said to have leanings towards France. In this case it is remarkable to find the press threatening the commission with an appeal to the League of Nations or The Hague Court if the decision is adhered to.

8. In short, Turkey's only policy to-day is to rid itself of every extraneous element in its population, without any real regard to the eventual results on her population, and in the hopes of building up in course of time from the remnants a homogeneous Turanian people. Her Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Jews and, indeed, any people that can possibly, by tradition, sentiments or blood be linked however remotely to other countries she eyes with the same suspicion as in the past and is determined to supplant and even to root out. She has forced her Jewish and Armenian minorities "voluntarily" to forgo their privileges for the sole apparent purpose of squeezing them out of the lucrative occupations that are theirs by tradition and superior intelligence in favour of the Moslem Turk.

9. This tendency, which has become the settled policy of the Government of to-day, should be remembered in connexion with the new Turkish Nationality Law, which condemns a not inconsiderable Maltese population to become Turkish subjects in face of a nationalism that refuses them the right to earn their livelihood on equal terms with the surrounding Moslem-Turkish population.

10. The Turkish Government may be laic in its advertised policy, in practice it reserves all benefits to Moslems, by which it means Turanian-Moslems. If, therefore, the policy is successful the new Turkey will emerge from this period of transition as a compact Turanian-Moslem State, small in population and liberal in tendencies to the point of being agnostic, although hostile to any other religion.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 247/247/44] No. 7.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 16.)

(No. 16. Confidential.)
Sir, *Constantinople, January 11, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 27 of the 18th January, 1927, I have the honour to transmit herewith notes on the leading Turkish personalities which have been brought up to date by Mr. Helm.

2. I beg leave to bring to your notice the industry displayed by the latter in compiling this useful work of reference and the comprehensive manner in which he has obtained details about the personalities dealt with.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 7.

Notes of Leading Turkish Personalities.

Abdul Halik Bey, Mustafa.

BORN at Yanina about 1870. Belongs to a family of Albanian Tosks. Educated at Yanina and at Mulkie College, Constantinople. In 1908 appointed member of the Council of State. Uncle by marriage of the late Talaat Pasha. 1910–11, Vali of Uskub. 1914–15, Vali of Van. For a short period in 1915 was Under-Secretary for the Interior. 1915–16, Vali of Bitlis, and 1916–17 of Aleppo. Again became Under-Secretary for the Interior, holding post until the armistice. Arrested in May 1920 and deported to Malta on charge of atrocities committed at Aleppo during the war. Learnt to play tennis and bridge there. In 1923 was Vali of Smyrna, when he got on well with Europeans. In July elected Deputy of Changri. In January 1924 succeeded Hassan Fehmi Bey as Minister of Finance and held post till March 1925. Resigned on fall of Fethi Bey and became director-general of the Agricultural Bank and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Finance. In July 1926 again became Minister of Finance. He soon showed himself aware of the weakness of Turkey's financial position abroad and visited Europe in the summer of 1927, when he was identified with an arrangement for the settlement of the "Coupons" question. In September he was re-elected Deputy for Changri, and in November, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, became Minister of National Defence and Acting Minister of Marine.

Abdul Halik Bey knows Greek and speaks indifferent French. He owed his early advancement to his relationship with Talaat Pasha, though he was never a prominent Unionist figure. Though not possessed of brilliance, he has considerable administrative capacity. Is essentially a moderate and was the only member of the Cabinet to fast during the 1927 Ramazan. Is a keen gardener, a good bridge player and agreeable in conversation.

Adil Bey.

Born at Smyrna in 1880. Son of Abdulla Pasha, known as Tatar zadé. Attended Turkish High School. 1902, secretary in Smyrna Tax Office. 1909, finance inspector, a post which he held till 1922. In 1923 became Government Commissioner of Ottoman Bank and Bourse, and in following year went on a financial mission to Paris and London. From November 1924 till September 1927 was Director-General of Customs. Resigned on his election as Deputy for Samsun, and is a member of the Budget Commission of the Assembly.

Adil Bey was not a success as Director-General of Customs, and was described by a Turk as "a good financial official but not a customs expert." During his tenure of the post he showed himself very unaccommodating towards foreign interests.

Adnan Bey, Dr.

Born about 1880. Trained in Germany as physician, and was formerly medical adviser to Talaat Pasha. During the war was a prominent member of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 became secretary-general of the Red Crescent Society and a Deputy for Constantinople. In January 1920 went to Angora and threw in his lot with Mustafa Kemal, and in May became Minister of Public Health. In August became temporarily Minister of the Interior, and in March 1921 Vice-President of the Assembly. In June 1922 became Minister of Public Works, but resigned in July. Was again for a time Vice-President of the Assembly, but in December was appointed to Constantinople as delegate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which post he held until June 1924, having previously opted for the Deputyship for Constantinople, to which he had been elected in the previous year. Proceeded to Europe and gradually became associated with Refet Pasha and Reouf and Jambulat Beys in their opposition to Mustafa Kemal. In November he resigned from the People's Republican party and became vice-president of the Executive Bureau of the new reformed Progressive party. In February 1926 he resigned his Deputyship, nominally on grounds of ill health, having been resident in London in the previous year. In August 1926 he was tried by default for participation in the plot against the life of the President, but was acquitted. Throughout 1927 he continued to reside in London and followed medical courses at St. Thomas's Hospital. Is understood to be in rather straitened circumstances.

Adnan Bey is a tall, pleasant man with a delicate constitution. Is cultured and speaks French well. Moderate in his views and owes much to his reputation for honesty and to his being the husband of Halidé Edib Hanum, the well-known Turkish novelist. Was a strong supporter of Mustafa Kemal in the early stages of the Nationalist movement, but his moderate and anti-Bolshevik sentiments made him suspect.

Ahmed Bey Agaieff (Agu Oglu Ahmed Bey).

Born about 1864 in Azerbaijan. Son of an Islamised Caucasian Jew. Educated at Moscow and started life as a journalist. Became an *agent provocateur* to the Russian Secret Service and organised Armenian massacres at Baku in 1904. In 1903–5 published two newspapers in Baku, but then fell into disgrace; went to Turkey and became a Turkish subject in 1908. Threw in his lot with the Committee of Union and Progress. Later, published a pro-Russian paper in Turkish and became editor of the "Terjuman-i-Hakkikat." In 1916 became Minister of Education, and at this time was noted for his anti-British articles. Took a part in organising the Armenian massacres. In 1918 received £T 100,000 from the Committee of Union and Progress funds. 1919–21, interned at Malta. In June 1921 he became director of the Press Bureau at Angora, and from then onwards has been a close friend of Mustafa Kemal. Has been the chief worker for closer Russo-Turkish relations.

In the 1923–27 Assembly he was a member of the executive bureau of the People's party and of the Foreign Affairs Commission, as well as reporter of the Constitutional Commission. Was re-elected Deputy for Kars in September 1927, and in November became a member of the party's executive bureau and of the Constitutional Commission.

Ahmed Bey Agaieff is a short, most unprepossessing man, with heavy eyebrows and wears dark glasses. He is seen occasionally in society, accompanied by his English-speaking daughters, who are no more attractive in appearance than their father. He is artful, sly and dangerous and speaks Russian, French, Persian and Turkish. He has certain affinities with Oxford. Since the summer of 1926 his articles have become less and less hostile to Great Britain.

Ahmed Ferid Bey.

Born at Broussa in 1875. Passed through Harbié Military College in 1898 with rank of staff captain. Later went to Paris and studied at School of Political Science. Only returned to Turkey after 1908. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and became Deputy for Kutahia. In 1910 joined the *Entente libérale* party and was exiled by the Committee of Union and Progress in 1913. He made his peace with Talaat Pasha in 1915 and became consul-general at Kiev in November 1917. Recalled in December 1918, he resumed attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 was Minister of Public Works and of Finance under Damad Ferid Pasha. He resigned in July owing to his desire to reach an understanding with Mustafa Kemal. Joined the Nationalist cause in April 1920, was immediately elected a Deputy in the Angora Assembly, and soon afterwards became Minister of Finance. In September 1920 attended the Baku Congress and soon afterwards appeared rather pro-Bolshevik. In November 1921 was appointed representative of the Angora Government at Paris, which post he held till February 1923, when he was recalled because of certain offensive remarks made regarding the Allies. In spite of opposition in the Assembly, he became Minister of the Interior in October 1923. Was the subject of many attacks both in the Assembly and the press, but continued to hold the post till May 1924. Appointed Ambassador at London in June 1925.

Ferid Bey speaks good French and Arabic. A thorough opportunist and rather unscrupulous. Wife is attractive and has helped him to make something of a success of the London Embassy.

Ahmed Muhtar Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1871. Studied at French school and Military College in Constantinople. In 1891 received a post in the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in due course became its sub-Director-General. In 1909 consul-general at Budapest. In 1912 Minister at Athens. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and in 1913 was for a short time Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1917 Minister at Kiev. Returned to Turkey in March 1919. Became Deputy for Constantinople. Escaped to Anatolia in June 1920 and joined the Nationalist movement. In June 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople, and in the same year appointed Ambassador at Moscow. In October 1924 he opted for his Deputyship and returned to Turkey. From 1923 till 1927 was Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In June 1927, his appointment as Ambassador to Washington was announced and in November he took up his duties.

Ahmed Muhtar Bey is a man of the world and his long official career has given him at least all the outward characteristics of a diplomat. He strikes one, however, as being somewhat sinister, though he is very agreeable in conversation. Speaks French fluently. Is credited with strong Russian sympathies.

Ali Bey.

Born about 1875 at Afion Kara Hissar. Educated at the Stamboul Military School. Commanded a battalion at Chatalja during the Balkan war and served in the Great War as a colonel. Organised resistance to the Greeks at Aivalik in 1919. Was elected a Deputy for Constantinople in December and remained there to attend the debates till March 1920, when he was deported to Malta. Released a year later, he at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. After his re-election in 1923 he became one of the chief organisers of the People's party, and in November 1924 was elected vice-president of the administrative council of the party, a position which he still fills. In March 1925 he was appointed president of the Angora Independence Tribunal, soon afterwards shot with impunity a fellow Deputy in the Chamber and unconcernedly passed death sentences till the Independence Tribunals were abolished early in 1927. 1925–27 was president of the Defence Commission of the Assembly and in November 1927, on his re-election as Deputy for Afion Kara Hissar, became a member of the Budget Commission.

Ali Bey, known as the "bald-headed," is a curious phenomenon, for, in spite of his record, he is attractive. He speaks only Turkish and a few words of English, which, however, he reads with a certain facility, has an engaging smile and was once very aptly described by a British visitor to Angora as resembling "a benevolent Scotch elder." During the past summer, rumour was busy with his name as a possible successor to Ismet Pasha. It is doubtful if he could have filled the bill, though his surprising honesty could not fail to be an asset, and now one only sees him occasionally playing his not too expert game of bridge at the club. He is not a conversationalist.

Ali Fethi Bey.

Born at Ochrida, Macedonia, in 1877. Graduated from military school in Constantinople in 1903, and saw service in Macedonia. Became an ardent Committee of Union and Progress adherent and took charge of Abdul Hamid on the expulsion of the latter to Salonica. 1910–13 military attaché at Sofia and 1913–17 Minister there. Was for a short time Minister of the Interior in autumn of 1918, and soon after was deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in April 1921, he proceeded at once to Anatolia and became Minister of the Interior. In July–August 1922 proceeded on a mission to Paris and London. In 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople and during two months was President of the Council of Ministers, which post he resigned on emergence of Republican issue. In November became first President of the Assembly. In March 1924 was regarded as being identified with the Opposition when the question of the President's powers was under consideration. In May, chief Turkish delegate for Mosul discussions in Constantinople. Represented Turkey before the League of Nations in September and later proceeded to Brussels again in connection with the Mosul question. Became president of the council for the second time and in November also held the Portfolio of Defence. His period of office was marked by moderation and he had the support of the Oppositionist Progressive party. In March 1925 on the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt, his Government fell because of his alleged lukewarmness in dealing with the rebels and in the same month was appointed Turkish Ambassador in Paris.

Fethi Bey has Mongol features. He is pleasant to talk to, speaks good French and is essentially a moderate. He has an attractive wife.

Ali Fuad Pasha.

Born in Constantinople in 1882. Grandson of renegade German who was Turkish delegate at Berlin Congress. Graduated from the military school in 1905, and since then has followed a military career. 1908–11 military attaché at Rome. During the war fought on the Caucasus and Palestine fronts. Was one of the first Turkish generals to join the Kemalist movement, and was one of Mustafa Kemal's most trusted leaders, until his tendency to take an independent line in the field led, late in 1920, to his appointment as Kemalist Ambassador at Moscow, where he was chiefly instrumental in securing the signature of the Turco-Russian Treaty of March 1921. Was recalled in April 1922 owing to an incident in the Embassy in Moscow, and resumed his military command. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Angora and Vice President of the Assembly. Later became inspector general at Konia, but resigned his post in October 1924, by which time he had become completely associated with the Reouf–Adnan–Refet Opposition group. In November he resigned from the People's party and became secretary-general of the new Progressive party. In 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for alleged participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but was acquitted. His reception by the President in November 1926 and again early in 1927 gave rise to a rumour that Ali Fuad was returning to the Kemalist fold, but this was not confirmed and he ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927.

Ali Fuad Pasha has a reputation for honesty. During the war was not on good terms with the German commanders, and during the armistice period was believed to be violently anti-British.

Ali Jenani Bey.

Born in 1885 at Aintab, which he represented in the Constantinople Parliament. Was deported to Malta in 1919 on a charge of complicity in the massacres of Armenians at Aintab. On being released he joined the Kemalist movement, and has been Deputy for Aintab since 1921. In November 1924 became Minister of Commerce. In 1925 his commercial legislation showed that he was leading the ultra-Nationalist movement against Christian employees and foreign capital. In May 1926 he resigned owing to reported differences with the Minister of Finance. He nevertheless continued to be very influential and, in particular, has for the last two years been chief Turkish delegate in commercial negotiations with foreign countries. As such he signed the Turco-Russian Commercial Treaty in March 1927.

Ali Jenani Bey is the leading business man in the Aintab area, and in business circles is considered as honest and go-ahead. Is rich and influential, but a poor

speaker, and has also been described as active, resourceful and wily. He plays a vigorous, but not very good, game of bridge. His two daughters have received an American college education, but his wife is rarely seen. His small son is at the English high school.

Ali Said Pasha.

Born near Panderma in 1874. Graduated from the Military College in 1898 and held several minor staff appointments till 1907 when, with the rank of major, he was sent to the Yemen. Returned to Constantinople in 1909, and in 1913 was in charge of the lines of communication. Was then for a time control officer on the Anatolian Railway until January 1914, when he was promoted colonel and posted to Sana, in the Yemen, where he remained until some time after the 1918 Armistice, when he was finally induced to surrender to the British authorities at Aden whom he had fought for four years, during most of which he was out of touch with his Government. Interned in Egypt for a short time, Ali Said Pasha, who had now been promoted general, returned to Constantinople early in 1919 and was Military Governor of the capital till March 1920, when, on the occupation of the town, he was deported to Malta. Immediately after his release in October 1921 he joined Mustafa Kemal, and in the following year he succeeded Kinzim Kara Bekir Pasha as General Officer Commanding the Eastern army. In October 1924 he was appointed Inspector-General of the First (Western) Military Area, and still holds this post. Was promoted to be a general of the first class in August 1927.

Ali Said Pasha is pleasant, courteous and has a well-modulated voice. Was probably at one time decidedly pro-British, and still is, as he says, "in the interests of his country," but he chooses to forget rather than to forgive his treatment at British hands. Not a strong personality and takes no part in politics, but is interested in Iraq oil to such an extent that on an Angora ball-room floor he produced to a member of the Embassy a largish map on which the position of his wells was clearly shown. Speaks a little English, a consequence of Malta, where he also learnt to play tennis, at which he is said to be the Angora champion, though his appearance at a British tennis party in bowler hat, frock coat and tight boots, and his subsequent play after a hasty change behind a hedge into more suitable garb, rather belie the fact. Both he and his somewhat massive wife are much seen in Angora society and are deservedly popular.

Behij Bey.

Born about 1880. An ex-colonel. In 1924 was chief administrator of the Anatolian Railway, in which post he showed considerable ability and energy. Since December 1925 has been one of the Deputies for Constantinople, and in January 1926 became Minister of Public Works, retaining the portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. As a Minister, Behij Bey has been a pronounced success and is showing great capacity in dealing with the somewhat grandiose railway projects of the present Turkish Government.

Bekir Sami Bey.

A Circassian, born in the Caucasus in 1868. His family later settled in Amassia. Educated in Constantinople and at the law school in Paris, where he remained for twelve years. Joined the Young Turks on his return to Turkey in 1898. Was given a Government post in Tripoli. Vali of Tripoli in 1908, of Trebizond in 1910, of Broussa in 1910, of Beirut 1910–11, and again of Trebizond 1911–12. Vali of Aleppo from 1914–16. Proceeded to Angora in April 1920, and was immediately appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Later in the year made several visits to Russia, and in February 1921 headed the Angora delegation to the Peace Conference. Visited London, Paris and Rome. Resigned on his return to Angora. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Tokat. In the following year his Opposition tendencies became pronounced, and in November he left the People's party to join the newly-formed Progressive party. In 1926 he was tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic, but was acquitted. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Got a share of opprobrium in Mustafa Kemal's great speech of October 1927. Is a colossally built man, tall and stout, with a slight impediment in his speech. Liberal and energetic, and, apart from his violent Russophobia, moderate in his opinions.

Edib Servet Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1879. Son of Servet Pasha. Left the Military College in 1898. Served with the Salonica army and in Thrace till he entered the Staff College in 1909. In 1911 was attached to the Yanina Regiment and in 1913 promoted major. Held a staff appointment during the Balkan war and was on the military staff of the Turkish delegation to the 1913 Peace Conference in London. Later in the year was a few months chief A.D.C. to the heir apparent. Served during the Great War at the Dardanelles, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and in 1917 was director of the Military Press Bureau. In March 1918 was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Roumania to conclude peace. During the armistice was a member of the Armistice Commission and director of the Prisoners of War Section, and joined Mustafa Kemal in June 1920. Was afterwards chiefly engaged in arranging the supply of munitions, and in 1922 was for a time member of the Turco-Syrian Frontier Delimitation Commission. In November became Military Commandant of Constantinople and Acting Governor of Pera. Since November 1925 has been Deputy for Constantinople. Is a leading member of the board of the *Ish Bankassi*, and is now a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In 1926 he represented Turkey at the Islamic Congress at Mecca and made history by appearing in a bowler hat.

Edib Bey is short, stout and jovial, with a face like the rising sun on the rare occasions when, in the early hours, it has approached its zenith. He shows a taste for opera and old Turkish songs and has a good voice. Though not involved so deeply in politics as are his companions, he is in great favour with the Ghazi and is influential. While not appearing bright, he is shrewd and sharp and probably does more hard thinking than any of the coterie. Speaks French, Italian and German. Is hospitable, with a naive courtliness of manner and a passion for doing things right and urging his friends to do likewise as, for instance, when after a lunch at the British Embassy last summer he interrupted Dr. Tevfik Rushdi Bey in the middle of a discourse to whisper to him that it was time to go.

Fahreddin Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1881. Educated at the military school, where he was a class-mate of Enver Pasha. 1909, in command of troops against the Kurds, near Derzim. Later became an active Committee of Union and Progress adherent, and in 1910 chief aide-de-camp to the War Office. Held various staff appointments before becoming Under-Secretary for War in 1915. In 1916 commanded the Turkish division in Galicia, and in 1918 served on the Palestine front. Joined the Nationalist cause in January 1920. Later in the year secured the command of the XIIth Army Corps, which he retained until the final success of the Turks over the Greeks. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and became commander of the Vth Army Corps. In October 1924 resigned his Deputyship on opting for military duties. In November 1924, on the resignation of Ali Fuad Pasha, became one of the three military inspectors-general, and in August 1926 was promoted divisional general of the first class, thus holding a higher rank than any of the Opposition Pashas.

Fahreddin Pasha has been described as a rough diamond, though honest.

Falih Rifki Bey.

Born in 1894 at Constantinople, where he was educated. Was secretary to Jemal Pasha in Syria during the war, after which he took up journalism and for a time wrote articles for the *Ententist* "Aksham." In 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal and wrote for the Nationalist press. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Bolu, and in the 1923–27 Assembly was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Is now a member of that commission, a chief editor of the "Hakimiet-i-Millié" and director of the Anatolian Agency. In the summer of 1927 he went to Rio de Janeiro as chief Turkish delegate at the International Parliamentary Congress, and returned deeply impressed by the advantages to be derived from an Anglo-Saxon, as opposed to a Latin, education.

Falih Rifki Bey is at the same time the youngest and the wildest of the President's boon companions. He is frank, has a fair knowledge of French, and is an ardent westerner. Is a heavy drinker, and this and other excesses are unfortunately already beginning to tell their tale. An excellent bridge player. Wife is undistinguished and lives in Constantinople.

Fevzi Pasha, Mustafa.

Born in Constantinople in 1874. Graduated from the Military College in 1898. Saw service in Macedonia. From then until 1913 held numerous staff appointments. During the war fought at Gallipoli, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and was Chief of the General Staff, 1918–19. In November 1919 was sent on a mission to Anatolia by the Constantinople Government and established relations with Mustafa Kemal. Held the portfolio of War in the Constantinople Government during February and March 1920. He was throughout in close touch with Mustafa Kemal, and on his resignation he went to Anatolia and was at once appointed Minister for National Defence. Played a large part in building up the Kemalist army and in organising transport and the production of ammunition. In 1921 he became for a time rather a back number, but later re-established his position and became Chief of Staff. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople, and since then has been annually reappointed Chief of Staff. Resigned his Deputyship in October 1924 on opting for military duties. In the autumn of 1927 was suffering from diabetes and went to Europe for a cure.

Fevzi Pasha had the confidence of Enver Pasha during the Great War, and is now understood to have that of Mustafa Kemal. Reputed to be a capable officer, especially in matters relating to administration. Regarded by Halidé Hanum as a good soldier, but nothing more. Has considerable influence with the army. Was in his time a pan-Turanian as well as a pan-Islamist, and on the abolition of the Caliphate was regarded as the only rival of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, of whose manner of life he is understood strongly to disapprove. Was regarded as the leader of the war party at Angora during the Mosul crisis. Old-fashioned. Keeps his womenkind secluded.

Hakki Shinassi Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1868, the son of a foreign Ministry official. Studied first at the naval and afterwards at the medical school. Followed medical courses at Berlin, Heidelberg and Munich. While a doctor at the Hamidié Hospital in 1904 was expelled to Anatolia. On his return in 1909 was reinstated with rank of colonel, and later promoted general. Retired in 1918, and from then till 1924 occupied himself with municipal affairs. Since November 1924 has been a Deputy for Constantinople, and is now chairman of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly. In September 1925 was Turkish Red Crescent delegate at the International Red Cross Conference at Geneva.

Hamdi Bey, Mehmed.

Born about 1880. During the armistice was head of the Refugee Section of the Ministry of Interior in Constantinople. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Erzinjian. In 1924 was assistant Turkish delegate for the exchange of Turco-Greek populations, and in 1923 became chief delegate on the appointment of Tewfik Rushdi Bey as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Negotiated the Turco-Greek Agreement of 1925, and in June was appointed Minister at Vienna. Short and stoutish, Hamdi Bey speaks French moderately well and is intelligent and moderate.

Hamdulla Subhi Bey.

Born in Constantinople in 1881. Educated at Galata-Serai College. In 1901 entered Ministry for Foreign Affairs as a clerk. Remained there till 1908, occupying himself in writing poetry. After the Constitution continued his literary efforts, and was the founder of a society of young poets which developed into the Turk Ojaghi. In 1910 appointed Professor of Turkish Literature at the Stamboul University. Was for a time in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, but after the Balkan war was on good terms with the Unionists. Later became the leading propagandist of pan-Turanianism. Travelled in Germany during the war. In the early armistice was anti-British and pro-Italian. In April 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal at Angora. Later in the year was for a time head of the Kemalist Intelligence Service. January–April 1921 Minister of Public Instruction. In April became Vice-President of the Assembly, and occupied himself chiefly with the pan-Islamic Congress then held in Angora. Was again Minister of Public Instruction during the latter half of 1921, and was one of the first of the Angora leaders

to make a speech against the Sultan. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople and later president of the Turk Ojaklari, to which he devoted most of his time and energy. During 1923 was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and from March till December 1925 was again Minister of Public Instruction, resigning finally on grounds of ill health. September 1927 re-elected for Constantinople and is a member of the Constitutional Commission of the new Assembly.

Hamdi Subhi Bey is an idealist of the pan Turanian school and is the moving spirit of the Turk Ojaklari. He is a serious reformer and does not believe that the Turk is a religious person. Is not possessed of means, and his honesty is above reproach.

Hussein Bey

Born at Trebizond in 1884. Of Laz origin. Educated in Constantinople and Paris, where from 1909-14 he studied at the School of Political Science. During the war was head of the Economic Section of the Food Supplies Directorate and in December 1919 became Deputy for Erzerum and Jan[illegible] Kemalist movement in March 1920, and in May 1921 became Minister of Finance, holding the post till April 1922. By this time he was apparently very pro-Bolshevik in sympathy. From May till July 1922 Minister of Economics and Public Works. In November was appointed member of the Turkish delegation to the Lausanne Conference, which [illegible] September 1923 was again Minister of Economics. In March 1924 Minister of Commerce. In March 1925 [illegible] Minister of Finance, [illegible] 1926 [illegible] controls of ill health [illegible] however to [illegible] interest in Turkish financial matters. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927 and in November, when it was rumoured that he would resume the Ministry, became first Vice-President of the Assembly.

Hussein Bey [illegible] expert in matters pertaining to finance. Knows French fairly well. Is a man of private means, wife [illegible] sense of humour. Not [illegible] popularity. Privately he has been described as something of an "apache," and most nearly answers the description when playing bridge, which he does very well. [illegible] attractive little wife.

Hassan Fehmi Bey

Born at Gumushhane in 1877. Educated at Constantinople, and from 1902 to 1910 held various posts in the Turkish Civil Service. In 1910, Governor of Kerassund, and in 1912 of Gumuljina. 1913-18 Deputy for Gumushhane. Joined Mustafa Kemal in April 1919. In 1920 Vice-President of the Assembly. In April 1922 was Minister of Finance. In 1923 elected Deputy for Gumushhane. August 1923 till January 1924 again Minister of Finance, resigning because of a dispute over the Anatolian railways question. November 1924 till March 1925 Minister of Agriculture. December 1925 became one of the Government delegates on the board of the Ottoman Bank. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and in November became chairman of the Assembly Finance Commission.

Hassan Fehmi Bey is not regarded as a strong man, and during his occupation of ministerial posts was little more than a nominee of Mustafa Kemal.

Hulussi Fuad Bey

Born in 1885 in Constantinople. Member of the Turkish Diplomatic Service. Was employed at Berlin and Vienna during the war, and at Christiania in 1923, where he received an appointment in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Angora. May 1924 became "chef du cabinet" of Adnan Bey, delegate at Constantinople of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In October went to London as a member of the Turkish Delegation to the Congress of the League of Nations Societies. Resigned in March 1923 but reasons not known, though suggested that (1) he had outshone Nusret Bey, (2) he was not fully sympathetic with Angora. In May appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Tokio.

Hulussi Fuad Bey is a son of "Old" Fuad Pasha, and his wife, who is a pleasant woman, is an excellent linguist. She is a daughter of Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha. He is pleasant to deal with, is westernised in European ways, enjoys a good [illegible] and believed to be fairly straight.

Husrev Bey

Born in 1884. A soldier *de carrière*; was military attaché at Athens at the outbreak of the Great War, and later served on the staff of the Caucasus army as an intelligence officer. During the early part of the Nationalist struggle, was private secretary to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. February 1921 was a member of Bekir Samy Bey's Mission to Paris, London and Rome. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Urfa. May 1924 became Minister at Budapest. Later resigned his deputyship on opting for his Legation. In August 1926 was appointed Minister at Sofia.

Husrev Bey is tall and good looking, and is a friend of the Ghazi.

Hussein Jahid Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1876. Took up the teaching profession, but in 1908 went over to journalism and became, till 1912, editor and part proprietor of the "Tanin," the official organ of the Committee of Union and Progress. From 1908 was one of the Constantinople Deputies in the Chamber, of which he became one of the vice-presidents during the war. Before the war was representative of the Turkish bondholders on the Public Dept. Played no great political part during the war, but at the armistice was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in April 1921, he spent the following year in Europe. On his return to Constantinople, he re-started publication of the "Tanin" and for a time supported the Kemalist regime. Nevertheless, he kept in close touch with the surviving Committee of Union and Progress leaders and gradually began to take a more independent line in his writings. By 1923 the "Tanin" had become the chief organ of the Opposition, and in December Jahid Bey was tried and acquitted for the publication of the Agha Khan letter. In April 1925 he was again arrested for his publications, the "Tanin" was suppressed and Jahid Bey was sentenced by the Independence Tribunal to life-time confinement in a fortress (Chorum). He was again brought before the tribunal in August 1926, for alleged participation in the Smyrna plot, but was acquitted. He was soon afterwards released, and is now living quietly in Constantinople.

Tall and slight, Jahid Bey was remarkable for his biting satire, and was feared by his enemies. Has written several poems and produced a number of scholastic books. His former power was doubtless derived partly from his association with Javid; and for the moment, the Government seem to have brought him to terms.

Hussein Jevad Bey.

Born in Constantinople in 1886. Educated at Galata Serai College, and entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1908. Appointed to Vienna (1909), Athens (1911), Cettinje (1905), St. Petersburg (1907), London (1909); Minister at Cettinje (1911) and at Belgrade (1913). 1917-19 was Minister at Stockholm; 1920-22 at Berne. In 1923 was appointed by Angora to Bucharest. Transferred to Paris in November 1924, his speech on presenting his credentials in February 1925 was much criticised in the Assembly, and he was recalled. In April was appointed Minister at Athens.

Hussein Jevad Bey is fat, affable, and very popular. Believed to be honest and well intentioned. Is rich and unmarried; knows French and German excellently, speaks English, plays golf and was responsible for its introduction into Montenegro.

Hussein Reouf Bey

Born at Constantinople in 1877. Educated at the Halki Naval College. Was for some years on the staff of Bucknum Pasha and in 1910 became commander of the "Hamidieh" whose activities were famous during the Balkan war. At the outbreak of the Great War was in England superintending the fitting of the "Reshadieh," of which he was to have had the command. Endeavoured to prevent Turkey's entry into the war. Was for a time chief of the Naval Staff, but spent most of the war period in Switzerland and Berlin. Was one of the Turkish signatories of the Mudros Armistice, and for a month (October 1918) was Minister of Marine. During 1919 was in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Returned to Constantinople early in 1920 as the leader of the Kemalist Deputies in the newly elected Chamber, and in March was arrested and deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in November 1921, he immediately proceeded to Angora, becoming Minister of Public

Works out resigned two months later probably owing to differences with Mustafa Kemal. March 1922 became Vice President of the Assembly, and soon showed himself to be the leader of the Moderate party. In May he showed strong anti-Bolshevik sympathies, and, his prestige rapidly growing, he was in July elected by the Assembly to be President of the Council. At this time Mustafa Kemal was understood to be very jealous of Reouf's power. In November he became Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople. Resigned the presidency of the Council in August because of reported differences with Mustafa Kemal. On the Caliphate question arising in 1923 Reouf Bey showed increasing signs of opposition, and by October was the real leader of the Opposition. In November he resigned from the People's party and was elected vice-president of the new Progressive party which was established in March 1925. In the spring of 1926 he went abroad, and in June was in London in the company of Adnan Bey. In August was tried by default on charge of participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal and was sentenced to 10 years' confinement in a fortress. In the autumn it was understood that he was still engaged in Opposition activities. Throughout 1927 Reouf Bey remained abroad and he ceased to be a Deputy in September. He was however the subject of the most bitter attacks in Mustafa Kemal's lengthy review of the Turkish revolution in October, attacks which made it clear that he is still feared by the President who considers his recall to power as patently overdue.

Hussein Reouf Bey is the leader of the Opposition to Mustafa Kemal. Speaks excellent English, and also French and German. Is essentially a Moderate, and prior to his deportation to Malta was decidedly pro-British. As a result of his treatment, however, his feelings became very bitter, but this phase has now passed and he has reverted to his pro-British sympathies.

Ibrahim Tali Bey

Doctor by profession, and served in that capacity during the Great War. Later became Turkish consul at Batum. In February 1924 it was rumoured that he would succeed Adnan Bey as representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople, but, instead, he went to Salonica to investigate alleged abuses on the part of the Turkish consul there. In April was appointed Minister at Warsaw. January 1926 elected Deputy for Diarbekr, and returned to Angora in the following month. In May became inspector-general of the People's party in Constantinople, and as such had very extensive powers. Took a prominent part in the 1927 elections and was himself again returned for Diarbekr. In October became vice-president of the council of the People's party, and in November a member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission. In December resigned his Deputyship on being appointed Inspector-General of the Eastern Provinces, with extensive powers. Is reported to have pronounced Bolshevik sympathies.

Ihsan Bey

Born about 1880. Is an ex-army officer, but nothing is known of his early history, which is probably undistinguished. Deputy for Jebel-i-Bereket since 1921. In December 1923 was president of the Independence Tribunal sent to Constantinople in connection with the publication of the Aga Khan letter. Throughout 1924 he was one of the leaders of the extreme section of the People's party, and his speeches gave rise to much comment. In December he became Minister for Marine, holding that post till November 1927. Is now a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly.

Ihsan Bey is a rough and disagreeable type. He speaks no European language.

Ismet Pasha

Born in 1880 at Smyrna, where his father was a small landed proprietor. Educated at the Military College, and from 1906–12 saw service in Thrace and the Yemen. Joined the General Staff in 1914. 1915–16 Chief of Staff of the Caucasus Army. 1917–18 in Palestine and became Under-Secretary for War in the autumn of 1918. Early showed Nationalist sympathies and joined Mustafa Kemal in March 1920, at once becoming Chief of Staff of the Nationalist forces. Assumed command of the Western Army in December 1920, and was chief Turkish delegate at the Mudania Conference in October 1922. In the same month was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in November went to Lausanne as chief Turkish delegate. Signed the Treaty of Lausanne on behalf of Turkey in July 1923, and in October became Prime Minister, retaining the portfolio for Foreign Affairs. At the same time Mustafa Kemal delegated to him the functions of president of the People's party. During 1924, owing to his ill-health, his Administration became more and more unpopular, and he resigned in November. On the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt in March 1925 he was again summoned to power by Mustafa Kemal, and has since been Prime Minister, though, in August 1925 it was rumoured that his relations with the Ghazi had become strained owing to his opposition to the divorce of Latifé Hanum. This rumour proved unfounded, and his position still appears as strong as ever. In August 1926 he was promoted general of the first class, and in November 1927, after the general election, at which he was re-elected for Malatia, he reconstructed his Cabinet on more moderate lines.

Ismet Pasha, in his army days, was regarded as an exceptionally capable staff officer, an indefatigable worker, and was, to a large extent, responsible for the final Nationalist success against the Greeks in 1922. At Lausanne he showed himself a stubborn but able negotiator. Is courteous, and never shows signs of being ruffled, but suffers from deafness, which, however, he probably finds convenient at times. Is the only one of the prominent early Nationalist leaders who has retained the confidence of Mustafa Kemal, and remains, as he has been for the last five years, the President's right-hand man. According to Halidé Hanum (July 1926): "He subordinates himself entirely to the Ghazi, and only wants to hang everybody."

Jafer Tayar Pasha

Born in 1883 at Prishtina, Albania, of poor parents. Educated by the charity of an Albanian who sent him to the military school. Saw service in Macedonia, and in 1907 became a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. Served at the Dardanelles, and in 1918 had command of the forces in Northern Caucasus. Early in the armistice he showed himself violently anti-British, and formed a military organisation at Adrianople with which in 1920 he threatened to resist the occupation of the town by the Greek army. From then onwards was known as the hero of Adrianople, for which since 1920, he had been the senior Deputy. In 1924 he commanded the troops in the eastern vilayets, but his enthusiasm for Mustafa Kemal began to cool, and in October he resigned his military duties to take up those of a Deputy. In July 1926, along with Ali Fuad, Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas, was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted, largely, it is understood, owing to the fear of the authorities of his influence with the army. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927, and is for the moment little heard of.

Jafer Tayar Pasha is a strong patriot, just and honest, and, as a result of his Adrianople experiences, is violently Græcophobe.

Jelal Nuri Bey

Born about 1880. A journalist; manager of a Young Turk newspaper in Constantinople in 1908. Expelled shortly after and only returned after the Constitution, when he commenced publication of his paper, "Ileri," which continued to appear till 1925. Was subventioned by the Germans during the war. In the early armistice ran his paper as a Kemalist organ until he was deported to Malta in March 1920. Shortly before, he had been elected Deputy for Gallipoli. Was released in March 1921 and at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. Has since been a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly, in 1922 being president, and reporter from 1923 till 1927. During the constitutional crisis in March 1924 he was a warm supporter of the proposal to accord dissolution and veto powers to the President of the Republic, but the proposal was defeated. In September 1927 was elected Deputy for Rodosto, and in November, while still retaining membership of the Constitutional Commission, became reporter of the Drafts Commission of the Assembly.

Jelal Nuri Bey is one of the extremists of the People's party and has very pronounced Communist leanings.

Jemil Bey

Born about 1885. Has followed a military career. About 1908 was "commandant de la place" at Salonica and at that time saved Mustafa Kemal from arrest

by Abdul Hamid's secret police. During the armistice, when he held the rank of staff lieutenant-colonel, was in command of the defence forces against the Greeks at Chataija. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Rodosto. In May 1924 appointed general secretary of the People's Party and in January 1925 became Minister of the Interior. Though for a time he did well and exercised considerable influence, his position became weakened early in 1927 owing to alleged irregularities in connexion with Government contracts, and though re-elected Deputy in September he ceased to hold ministerial rank on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet in November 1927.

Jemil Bey is reserved and intelligent and speaks only a little French.

Jemil Bey, Professor

Born about 1880. Has followed a legal career and specialises in international law on which he is now the recognised Turkish authority. Was chief adviser to the Turkish delegation before The Hague Tribunal in 1927 in connexion with the "Lotus" incident, in which judgment was given in favour of Turkey. From 1922 to 1924 was one of the chief movers in a Turkish association for supporting the League of Nations, and in October 1924 attended the congress of League of Nations Societies in London.

Jemil Bey is quiet, reserved and almost entirely absorbed in his studies. Is good-mannered and cultured, and his family have received a European education. Is a keen gardener.

Jevad Pasha

Born in Constantinople in 1873. Educated at the Galata Serai College and at the military school. In 1893 aide-de-camp to the Sultan. Later, sent to Germany to complete his military studies, and on his return secured rapid promotion owing to his father's influence at the palace. In 1913 appointed General Officer Commanding the Dardanelles Defences, and was in command of the Palestine army at the time of the Turkish collapse in 1918. In November 1918 became Chief of General Staff, and in December was Minister for War. Obstructed the Allies during the early armistice, and from the first was one of the strongest and cleverest of the Nationalist supporters in Constantinople. From October 1919 till January 1920 was again Chief of the General Staff. In March 1920 was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in October 1921, he at once proceeded to Angora, and in January 1922 was given the command of the Turkish troops near the Iraq frontier. Elected Deputy in July 1923, he at first took no part in the proceedings of the Assembly, having in the meantime been appointed military inspector general in the eastern provinces. In October 1924 was in supreme command of the Turkish forces on the Iraq frontier when the *status quo* difficulty arose. Later in the month he resigned from his military duties in order to take up his deputyship. Resigned from the latter two months later. In January 1925 was attached to the Iraq Frontier Commission in the capacity of assessor and showed himself petulant and irascible. In September and December was attached to the Turkish Mosul delegation to Geneva. In April 1926 became a member of the Supreme Military Council, and in August was promoted to the rank of general of the first class.

Jevad Pasha knows French and German well. Is very Germanophil and something of an opportunist. Has good manners, is well educated and is a capable administrator. He is old fashioned, drinks little and says his prayers, but is stated to be jealous of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who served under him at the Dardanelles.

Jevad Abbas Bey

Born about 1890. Early in 1919 became aide-de-camp to Mustafa Kemal and at the same time was elected Deputy for Bolu. Had control over the activities of the Nationalist secret agents throughout 1920. In July 1921 went on a mission to Bulgaria with a view to organising trouble in Thrace, and in December became unofficial Kemalist representative at Sofia. He returned to Angora early in 1922, and in the autumn was one of the instigators of the Turkish insurrectionist movement in Western Thrace directed against Greek rule. In 1923 was re-elected Deputy for Bolu, and at the end of the year there was much talk and intrigue in regard to his proposed definite appointment as Turkish Minister at Sofia. In 1924 was president of the Turkish Aeroplane Association, in the interest of which he showed great

activity. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and in November became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. Maintains close contact with the President of the Republic.

Kiazim Pasha

Born at Diarbekr in 1879. Educated at the military school. 1904–8, employed at the Ministry of War. 1909–12 and again 1913–14 military attaché at Rome. 1915, Chief of Staff of the 1st Army at the Dardanelles, under Liman von Sanders, whom he accompanied throughout the war and finally to Palestine. In November 1918 became director of the Military Council. Showed no violent anti-Ally feelings during the armistice, and in June 1920, after joining in an effort to secure a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople, joined Mustafa Kemal though at the time expressing the continuation of his sympathy with Great Britain. In October 1920 was appointed Director General of Administration of the Kemalist Western Army, and in October 1921 Under Secretary of National Defence. In 1922–23 was in command of the Turkish troops on the Chanak front. In October 1924 succeeded Jevad Pasha as an inspector of the IIIrd Army. In the spring of 1925 was in charge of the troops for the suppression of the Kurdish revolt, and in June resigned his military inspectorate. In August 1926 became Vali of Samsun.

Kiazim Pasha was highly esteemed by Liman von Sanders and is an industrious, well-trained and efficient officer. He is not a political intriguer, has moderate views, and has never expressed a preference for any particular party. At Samsun he has earned a reputation for energy and efficiency. He is friendly with foreigners and is held in high esteem by the foreign colony at Samsun.

Kiazim Pasha Kepruli

Born at Veles about 1884. Has followed a military career, and was early a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and Progress. Held various commands in the eastern vilayets, and during the war was Director General of Administration to Ali Fuad Pasha. In July 1919 was in command of troops at Balikesser, and there worked for the Nationalist cause. In the autumn raised irregular bands round Panderma to support Mustafa Kemal, who appointed him Governor of the Balikesser area in January 1920. In June was given command on the northern front, and after the battle of Sakaria was promoted Pasha, becoming in the following month, January 1922, Minister of National Defence. Held this post till November 1924, when he became President of the Assembly. In August 1926 was promoted to be divisional general of the first class. Following the general election in September 1927, at which he was again returned for Kutaisi, he was in November re-elected President of the Assembly.

Kiazim Pasha is fairly well educated and speaks little French. He is considered to be tenacious though reasonable, but he does not strike one as a strong character. Has poor health. Is anti-German and anti-Bolshevik, and during the Nationalist struggle made it clear that he was anti-Greek as distinct from anti-Ally. Is believed to be influential, but is not an attractive personality. A keen poker player.

Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha

Born at Monastir in 1878 of poor parents. Has throughout his life followed a military career. Held numerous staff appointments during the war. Immediately after the armistice was given command of the XVth Army Corps at Erzerum, where in 1919 he established contact with Mustafa Kemal, definitely joining the latter in September. Showed himself to be an opponent of the Kurdish Independence movement. In 1919–20 was responsible for the consolidation of the Nationalist position in the eastern vilayets and for the repression of the Armenians. At the same time was closely in touch with Bolshevik agents. Was throughout inclined to act independently of Angora, and for a time his relations with Mustafa Kemal were strained. In September 1921 represented Turkey at the Kars Conference, when he incurred the displeasure of Angora by adopting too conciliatory an attitude towards the Bolsheviks, and also probably because of his great influence in the eastern provinces. In 1922 was given full powers in the eastern provinces, and for a time was in touch with Enver Pasha. Finally arrived at Angora in October 1922, and after being for a time unemployed—probably owing to the jealousy of Mustafa Kemal—became one of the military inspectors. Elected Deputy for Constantinople

in 1923, he resigned his military duties in October 1924 Joined the Opposition. resigned from the People's party in November, when he became president of the new Progressive party, which was suppressed in March 1925. He continued his Opposition activities, and in July 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the plot against the Ghazi, but was acquitted, probably owing to his influence with the army, which it was later stated wished to make him the leader of an Opposition movement. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Colonel Rawlinson says "Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha is the best example of a first-class Turkish officer that I have met. Any army under him will be well commanded." Possessed of a naturally quick and bright intelligence, he is master of every branch of his profession and most conscientious in the performance of his duties. Is straightforward, and much of the Nationalist success is due to his competent handling of the Eastern Army In the past has been described as "Mr. Kiazim facing both ways" There is, however, no doubt of his still having considerable influence with the Turkish army

Kilij Ali Bey

Born about 1882 Before and during the war was an n.c.o. In 1919 he organised a tough lot of basha-bozuks at Balikesser. Next heard of in Cilicia in 1920 21 when he acted with great energy against the Armenians, thereby earning the sobriquet of Kilij (sword) At the same time changed his real name from Assef to Ali and became Deputy for Aintab, which he still represents in the Assembly. In July 1924 assaulted Jelal Nuri Bey with impunity in his office, and two months later accompanied Mustafa Kemal in his tour of the eastern provinces, an association much criticised at the time. Continued, however, to be one of the chief associates of the Ghazi, and in March 1925 became a member of the Angora Independence Tribunal. In February 1927 wounded Salih Bey in a brawl arising out of the Swedish railway contract The Independence Tribunals being suppressed in March, Kilij Ali then devoted himself to his numerous commercial activities till the summer, when he was in attendance on the Ghazi at Constantinople In November was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Moscow in connection with the Russian revolution anniversary celebrations, and in the same month became a member of the Executive Bureau of the People's party and of the Defence Commission of the Assembly.

Kilij Ali Bey's character is clear from his record. He is a brute and a bully, with no apparent compensating features. He is, however, influential, owing to his friendship with the Ghazi

Mahmud Beg

Born about 1880. At one time before the war was tutor to one of the Imperial Princes. An army officer, he occupied his spare time in writing or translating military text books. Was an A D C. to Mustafa Kemal in the Independence War. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Sert By 1926 had become chief editor of the semi-official "Hakimet-i-Millié" (Angora) and "Milliet" (Constantinople), was a member of the executive bureau of the People's party and president of the fifth section of the Assembly. In November 1927 he became reporter of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Moscow for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Russian revolution Went on to Paris and London, and was much pleased with his reception in London.

Mahmud Bey is the leading journalist in Turkey and the President's man of business Is very active and influential in political circles Speaks French very well and is capable Appearance is very oriental, of an almost negroid type

Mahmud Essad Bey

Born at Sparta in 1888 Studied law at Constantinople and Switzerland, obtaining his degree in [illegible] 1911 In 1912 established himself in Smyrna as a lawyer and remained there till 1919. In May 1920 went to Angora, and in the following month was appointed Deputy for Smyrna and still retains this seat In May 1922 published a violent article against the Sublime Porte and the Sultan, and in June became secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In July became Minister of Economics, holding the post till September 1923, when

he retired to Smyrna and was understood to have become an Oppositionist. In March 1924 opposed the grant of veto and dissolution powers to the President of the Republic. In November became Minister of Justice, retaining this portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. In August–September 1926, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs during the absence of Tewfik Rushdi Bey at Geneva. In 1926 and 1927 he made several visits to Europe in connexion with the "Lotus" question, and was chief Turkish delegate before The Hague Tribunal in the summer of 1927 when the Turkish case was upheld

Essad Bey speaks French and German as well as Turkish and Greek He is considered to be one of the best Turkish specialists in Constitutional Law. He showed great energy in the introduction of Penal, Commercial and Civil Codes based on Western models, the latter of which has revolutionised Turkish family life

Mehmed Rejeb Bey

Born about 1880. An ex army officer. In 1922 became secretary-general of the People's party, and as such had considerable power. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Kutahia In May 1924 became Minister of Interior and resigned from the secretaryship of the People's party. In the autumn of 1924 was considered one of the leading men of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet and a likely candidate for the premiership, but was maintained in his post on Fethi Bey becoming Prime Minister in November. In January 1925 resigned owing to his objections to the Cabinet proposal to appoint prefects by election, and resumed his post as general secretary of the People's party In March, on the return of Ismet Pasha to power, became Minister for National Defence. Early in 1927 his influence was said to be on the wane He was re-elected Deputy for Kutahia in 1927, but refused to hold Ministerial rank when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November, and a few days later became chairman of the Defence Commission of the Assembly

Mehmed Rejeb Bey was unknown until the later years of the Nationalist struggle and owed his position to his friendship with the President of the Republic A burly figure, he is said to be ambitious, with a perpetual desire to become Prime Minister. He is, however, an extremist, and the present tendency towards moderation has produced a slump in his stock, though it is possible that he may be heard of again

Munir Bey Mehmed

Born about 1875. Educated at the Mulkié College and Law School at Constantinople After obtaining his diploma of doctor of law, was appointed one of the assistant legal advisers of the Sublime Porte, holding this post till 1910, when he became chief legal adviser As such attended the conference of Brest Litovsk. Accompanied Izzet Pasha on the reconciliation mission to Anatolia in December 1920. At once placed his services at the disposal of the Nationalist Government, and became legal adviser. Was Turkish legal adviser at the Lausanne Conference, and returned to hold the post at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs till February 1925, when he was appointed Turkish Minister at Berne

Munir Bey is a pretty good lawyer and rather the simple old-fashioned kind of Turkish official. He has a reputation for honesty, and created a good impression on the British delegates at the Lausanne Conference

Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Born in 1880 at Salonica, son of an Albanian father and Turkish mother. Had an entirely Turkish upbringing, and was educated at the Mulkié school at Salonica and at the Military College in Constantinople, from which he passed out with the rank of captain in 1905 In 1907 he was for a time exiled to Damascus. Receiving a staff appointment at Salonica, he early joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and was at Salonica when the Constitution was proclaimed. Soon after quarrelled with the Committee of Union and Progress. 1910–11 served in Tripoli, 1913 became aide-de-camp to the Heir Apparent and military attaché at Sofia. In October 1914 was given a command at Gallipoli and distinguished himself at Anafarta in 1915, when he alone saved the situation in defiance of von Sander's orders. Later in the same year he fell out of Enver Pasha and remained unemployed till 1917, when he was given a Caucasus command In 1917 18 had twice command of the VIIth Army on the Palestine front, but quarrelled in turn with von Falkenhayn, Liman von

Sadiers and Enver Pasha. In May 1919 was sent to Anatolia to stem the rising tide of Nationalism, and on his arrival at Samsun immediately assumed leadership of the movement. On the 19th July announced his resignation from the army and devotion to the Nationalist cause, and on the 27th summoned the first Nationalist Congress at Erzerum. In November summoned the second Nationalist Congress at Sivas, and in December at Angora. During the following months he tried to dictate to the Constantinople Government and in April 1920 established an independent Government at Angora. In May became President of the First Assembly and proceeded to organise the Nationalist army. In 1921 received Russian and Afghan Ambassadors at Angora. In November was vested with absolute authority for the prosecution of the war. Early in 1922 lost some faith in the Assembly, but succeeded in keeping it together for short periods and with the Nationalist victories over the Greeks in August-September his ascendancy was established. In October secured from the Assembly the abolition of the Sultanate. Successful efforts to get rid of the Assembly were discussed in April 1923. In the Lower House the Kemalist majority was not very extensive. Mustafa Kemal Pasha resigned as Deputy for Angora. In August was elected President of the Assembly. Constitutional Opposition to the Kemalists appeared in the Progressive Republican Party, which had its origin in the Kemalist Congress at Erzerum. Kemal Pasha's position was strengthened by the Treaty of Lausanne, which he regarded as a personal triumph. In October 1923 the Capital was removed from Constantinople to Angora. In November 1923 he married Latifé Hanoum, daughter of Ali Bey, a wealthy merchant of Smyrna. In March 1924 he abolished the Caliphate, and in April 1924 the Assembly passed a new Constitution. In May 1924 he founded the People's Party. In August 1924 the Kemalists won a sweeping victory at the elections. During the summer of 1926 a plot to assassinate him was discovered at Smyrna, and as a result a number of Opposition leaders were hanged. In June 1927 he had his first serious breakdown in health, and he retired to his farm at Ismid. He was elected by acclamation President of the Republic for a further period of four years in October 1927. In November 1927 he made a speech in which he declared that the Republic would be governed by the People's Party, and that no other party would be allowed to exist. During the summer of 1928 he visited Broussa, Smyrna, Adana, Konia and Eskishehir, and in September 1928 he made a speech in which he declared that the Arabic alphabet would be replaced by a Latin alphabet. In November 1928 he presided over the first meeting of the Turkish Academy of Language, which was established by him. In December 1928 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In January 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In February 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In March 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In April 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In May 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In June 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In July 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In August 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In September 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In October 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In November 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words. In December 1929 he made a speech in which he declared that the Turkish language was to be purified of all Arabic and Persian words.

Vasif Bey Hostafa

Born 1877. Was a small landowner in Smyrna. From 1921 to 1923 was Deputy for Smyrna in the first Angora Assembly. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and in October became Minister of Reconstruction in the Angora Government. In March 1925 was appointed general Representative of the Independence Tribunal Enquiry into the unrest with the Kurdish revolt, but owing to the wide powers which it was proposed to confer it was dropped owing to the wide powers which it was proposed to confer it was dropped. In December became Minister of Public Instruction, following his portfolio when Ismet Pasha constituted his Cabinet in November 1927. Early in 1927 he made a tour of European countries to promote study and to establish cordial relations. He is a man of high character and integrity, he knows no fear, is absolutely honest and scrupulous, but has something of the reserved and aloof bearing of a Turkish gentleman of the old school.

Ali Fuad Pasha

Born at Constantinople in 1877. On leaving the military school in 1891 he entered the corps of Aide-de-Camps to Abdul Hamid, remaining at the Palace till 1909. During

the war fought at the Dardanelles and Erzerum, losing a leg, when his success is said to have aroused the jealousy of Enver Pasha. Became Military Commandant of Smyrna in 1918 and Vali of the town in February 1919 but only held this post for a month. In May 1920 offered his services to bring about a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople. Joined Mustafa Kemal in the following month. In command of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas in April 1921 but was dismissed in November for hanging certain Kurdish chiefs. In September 1922 was in command of the 1st Army which captured Smyrna and as Commander-in-Chief of the two combatant forces had the responsibility for the burning of the town. Hardly escaped responsibility for the massacre. At first was opposed to the extreme section of the Nationalists who favoured a thoroughgoing change, and by December of the year he had become associated with Mustafa Kemal. Throughout the winter he was one of the Turkish troops in the Ismid sector. In July 1922 was dismissed from the command of the IIIrd Army and owing to his Opposition tendencies failed to secure election as Deputy. He went to Brussa and remained there till December 1924 when he was elected Deputy for the Trebizond district. In the following month his election was annulled on technical grounds, but at the by-election he was returned. He is now prominent in Opposition circles. In November 1927 he spoke strongly in the Assembly against the new law for the training of the Turkish army. He took part in the debates and in September 1927 was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

Nasir-ud-din Pasha. Already referred to in connection with the Hejaz. Is a member of the Turkish Senate. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen. Is one of the most influential Ottoman statesmen.

Nusret Bey

Born about 1875, the son of Abdul Hamid's Foreign Minister. Educated at the Mekteb College at Constantinople, afterwards the Ottoman Lycée of Law, Paris. Entered the Ottoman Diplomatic Service and served at Berlin and Vienna until, about 1900, he became Assistant Legal Adviser at the Sublime Porte. Owing to bad health was for some years unemployed. But in July 1913 after having been a Deputy for a few months, he became Minister at The Hague and remained there until 1921. In 1925 he became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry, but resigned in 1926 for reasons of health. In September 1927 became Deputy for Smyrna and two months later member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission.

Nusret Saadullah Bey is an able and very popular both in European and Turkish circles. He is also capable, but his poor health is a fundamental weakness both for himself and his country, having committed suicide during one of his periodical insanity fits which has prevented him from attaining the distinction to which his wealth and otherwise appear entitled. Is an independent means, having married an Egyptian Princess, the daughter of the late Hakki Pasha, and is presently thought likely to seek an Embassy with the Nationalist Assembly. Is not a politician.

Rahmi Bey

Born at Salonica in 1874, his father being a rich Macedonian landowner. Studied at the Military College at Constantinople and at the schools of law and political science in Paris. While in the French capital he came in close contact with the Young Turks, and at the Constitution was elected Committee of Union and Progress Deputy for Salonica. A close friend of Talaat Pasha and a most influential member of the Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1914 was appointed Vali of Smyrna, holding the post right through the war. Fanatical in his hatred of the Greeks. Made a show of his anti-German feelings throughout. His treatment of better class foreigners was good and Armenians suffered less at Smyrna than in any part of Turkey, but he gave the Maltese colony a bad time. Sent out off Mitylene with peace overtures in 1915. In 1919 was arrested for political reasons and deported to Malta and on his release in 1921 proceeded to Europe. Returned to Smyrna in 1924 and took a returning fee from British firms, but was unable to secure election as a Deputy there in December owing to his pronounced Opposition sentiments. Continued to be identified with the Opposition movement. In the spring of 1926 proceeded to Russia. In August was tried and acquitted for complicity in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic and was sentenced to two years' detainment in a fortress.

Rahmi Bey is extremely clever. He is specious, but untrustworthy. At Smyrna he showed himself to be a man of energy and his position was so strong that he was able to act in almost complete independence of Constantinople. Gained huge sums from profiteering at Smyrna. Must still be regarded as one of the leading Oppositionists, and would almost certainly take a prominent place in the event of the overthrow of the present Turkish régime. Bitterly resentful of his internment at Malta. Well known to the British colony at Bournabat.

Rahmi Bey Mustafa

Born about 1880 at Smyrna. Nothing known of his early history except that for a time he was a finance official. Since 1923 has been a Deputy for Smyrna. Became Minister of Commerce in May 1926 and in November 1927, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, retained that portfolio, combining with it that of Agriculture.

Rahmi Bey is a big burly man, who speaks nothing but Turkish. He rarely shows himself in public but officially is courteous and helpful.

Refet Pasha.

Born in 1877, at Uskub of Albanian parents. 1898–1908 was employed in the gendarmerie in Macedonia. Commanded the gendarmerie battalion of the Army of Liberation in 1908. Went to the staff school in 1911 and was sent to Damascus in 1912. Became famous as the colonel of Gaza in 1916 and 1918 received the command of the XXIIIrd Army Corps in Palestine. At the armistice was appointed commander-in-chief of the gendarmerie, and in May 1919 commander of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas. Landed at Samsun with Mustafa Kemal and immediately became one of the latter's chief lieutenants. In September commanded the Nationalist forces at Konia, and in March 1920 was appointed general officer commanding on the Aidin front. In September was appointed Minister of the Interior, holding the post till April 1921. After holding various commands, was Minister of National Defence from July 1921 to January 1922. After the Mudania Conference, was appointed Governor of Thrace, but remained in Constantinople where he rapidly overthrew the Sultan's Government and established Nationalist authority. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople and soon afterwards resigned his appointment when no longer deemed necessary. In the latter half of 1924 began to show Opposition tendencies over the proclamation of the republic, and was associated with the Colonels Refet Bey, Rauf Bey, Ali Fuad Bey and Kiazim Karabekir Pasha in the plot which, being discovered, with Recuf and other Opposition leaders. In October withdrew his resignation of the Deputyship, publicly joined forces with the Oppositionists, resigned from the People's party and became one of the leaders of the new Progressive party. In July 1926 was tried at Angora for participation in the plot against the life of the President of the Republic, but was acquitted supposedly because of his prestige with

the army. In October he announced his abandonment of political life and in November finally resigned his Deputyship.

Refet Pasha is one of the most able of the Nationalist leaders and of considerable political ability. In 1922 at Constantinople, showed himself to be an extremely keen and clever tactician. Though his private life is now above reproach, he can hardly fail to play a prominent part in any future Opposition movement in Turkey.

Refik Bey, Dr

Born about 1878. Studied at Stamboul medical school and in Germany, and later practised medicine. Was an early supporter of Mustafa Kemal, and from 1921 to 1923 was Deputy for Bayazid in the first Angora Assembly. Since 1923 has been one of the Deputies for Constantinople. Except for the period November 1924–March 1925, when Fethi Bey was Prime Minister, Refik Bey has been Minister of Health since October 1923. He has discharged the duties of his post with marked ability, and the great improvement in Turkish sanitary conditions and the successful draining of the Angora marshes are outstanding tributes to his ability and energy. His Ministry is easily the most efficient of all the Turkish official departments. Is Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Turkish Red Crescent.

Generally known as "Doctor Bey," Refik Bey is universally popular. Not much of a personality. Is particularly fond of bridge, at which he is an indifferent player. Speaks fair French. Is unconcerned with politics and is almost exclusively taken up with his work. Is probably a nonentity in his Department. Thanks to his considerable reputation as a successful Minister, he was, in 1927, understood to be exercising considerable influence.

Reshid Ghalib Bey, Dr

Born about 1887 in Rhodes. Studied at the Medical School, Constantinople, and later followed medical courses in France and Switzerland. Joined the Young Turk movement on his return and afterwards held numerous posts as an official doctor. Was municipal doctor at Mersina during the French occupation. Has been Deputy for Aidin since January 1925, and from March 1925 till its suppression in March 1927 was a member of the Angora Independent Tribunal. Was understood in 1926 to have insisted on the hanging of Djavid Bey against the opinion of his colleagues. Is a member of the Central Committee of the Turk Ojaks and of the executive council of the People's party, and is Secretary of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly.

Reshid Ghalib Bey is of rather a good type and pleasant in conversation, but is known to indulge in fits of coarseness. He is a brother of Hussein Raghib Bey, the Turkish Minister in Bucharest.

Rushen Eshref Bey.

Born about 1880 in Constantinople. Before the war taught in the English boys' school in Constantinople. Was associated with Mustafa Kemal from the inception of the Nationalist movement, and was a member of the first Angora Assembly. Has been a Deputy for Afion Kara Hissar since 1923. Has never occupied any prominent official position, but has for years been one of the Ghazi's most intimate friends. 1925–27, was secretary of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission, and for the last two years has been the chief secretary of the Assembly. In the summer of 1927 he represented the Turkish press at an international congress in London, whence he returned deeply impressed by English education, industry and culture.

Rushen Eshref Bey is an attractive personality. He is cultured and speaks remarkably well. Has read extensively and is extremely intelligent, but is probably constitutionally lazy and although fond of writing in practice produces little. While accused by some of insincerity, he is excellent company, is very fond of bridge, and has a pleasant wife, whose good looks and other attractions place her well ahead of other ladies in Angora society whose conversational powers are non-existent.

Sabri Bey Mehmed

Born about 1883. Before the war was a small Post Office employee. During the war was secretary-general of the Committee of Union and Progress and Dr

his activities in this connexion was deported to Malta in 1919. He returned and became in 1922 Director of Posts and Telegraphs at Angora, and went to Germany, where he studied wireless. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Saruhan, and in August became first Vice-President of the Assembly. In March 1925 became Minister for Agriculture and still holds that post, though during the Committee of Union and Progress trials in August 1926 his position was weakened by revelations regarding his association with the Committee of Union and Progress leaders in 1922. He was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, but ceased to hold office in November on the suppression of the Ministry of Agriculture as a separate department. In the same month he became a member of the Assembly Budget Commission.

Sohri Bey is of a rough but genial manner. He has great ideas about developing agriculture in Turkey. In November 1925 during a visit to Moscow he gave evidence of strong pro-Russian sentiments.

Safvet Zia Bey

Born about 1885. A former staff colonel. Was on the staff of Izzet Pasha in the Yemen in 1912. During the war served at Gallipoli and in Mesopotamia. In 1920 was military attaché at Moscow. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Ismid. From March 1925 till November 1927 was secretary-general of the People's party and as such exercised great influence. Was responsible for the arrangements for the complete success of the Kemalist nominees in the General Election of September 1927, he himself being returned for Erzinjan. In November he became president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month headed a Turkish mission to Moscow for the celebrations in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Soviet revolution. From there went on to Paris and London.

Safvet Bey is probably a *dönmé*, and is extremely capable, but is possibly just as untrustworthy. He is, however, friendly and sociable and a [illegible] player. A close friend of the Ghazi he is extremely [illegible] expected to retain

Shukri Bey

Born about 1882. Educated at Constantinople, and early entered the service of the Ministry of Interior. Was for a time *mektubji* (clerk) of the Adrianople Vilayet and later became Kaimakam of Ardahan. Became Deputy for Gallipoli in 1920 and throughout the armistice was the moving spirit of the Kemalist movement in Thrace. In 1921 was the unofficial Kemalist agent in Sofia but continued to devote most of his attention to the Thracian movement. In October 1922 he was appointed Vali of Adrianople and established the Kemalist administration there. Early in the following year he transferred his activities to Constantinople, of which he was for a time Vali. Has been Deputy for Adrianople since 1923 and for the last two years chairman of the Budget Commission of the Assembly. He is also a member of the executive bureau of the People's party.

Shukri Bey is a man of wide education and speaks several European languages. He has some reputation as an administrator, and for the last two years has taken a prominent part in Turkish financial and economic matters.

Sherki Bey Ali

Born in Constantinople about 1884, the son of a majordomo of Tewfik Pasha, who saw to the education of his retainer's son at the Galata Serai Lycée and in 1905 secured him a post in the Foreign Ministry. Accompanied Tewfik Pasha on a mission to Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg in 1909. Returned to the Ministry and in 1914 became private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, holding this post throughout the war. Accompanied Tewfik Pasha to the Paris Peace Conference in 1920 and was later in the year appointed Minister at Stockholm. In 1922 was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Izzet Pasha in the last Constantinople Government till the collapse of the latter in November. Angora having need of his services, he was summoned to the capital; in 1925 was head of the Commercial Section of the Foreign Ministry and in August 1926 became Under-Secretary, holding this post till September 1927 when he was elected Deputy for Tokat. In November he became a member of the Budget Commission of the Assembly.

As his record shows, Sherki Bey owes everything to his venerable patron, Tewfik Pasha. He is short and unimposing. Probably has Russian sympathies. Has become much more expensive and affable since his election as a Deputy.

Shukri Bey Sarrajoglu.

Born about 1885. Nothing known of his early history. Since July 1923 has been a Deputy for Smyrna. December 1923 became president of Foreign Affairs Commission of Assembly. November 1924–March 1925 was Minister of Public Instruction in Fethi Bey's Cabinet. In July 1925 became chief Turkish delegate on the Commission for the Exchange of Populations. In this capacity visited Geneva in December 1926 and in the same month signed the Turco-Greek Convention. In May 1927 he was given charge of the negotiations for the purchase of the Anatolian Railway, and in November, when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet, he received the portfolio of Finance.

Shukri Bey is delicate in appearance, and is probably a moderate. Does not appear unduly capable, but is popular, and was on excellent terms with his Greek opposite number in exchange matters. In the last two years his position has become strong, and at one time he was regarded as a probable future Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Shukri Kaya Bey

Born about 1884 at Kos, where he still owns property. Before the war was an official of the Ministry of Justice, and in 1914, as a civil inspector, accompanied the Embassies' delegates who enquired into the Greek deportations around Smyrna. Was then of advanced ideas and a protégé of Talaat Pasha. Was deported to Malta in the early armistice, and on his liberation identified himself with Mustafa Kemal. Was a member of the Turkish delegation to the first Lausanne Conference. Mayor of Smyrna in 1923 when he was a failure. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Mardin which he still represents. Negotiated the Turco-Albanian treaty of December. In March 1924 charged with deposit of the ratifications of the Lausanne Treaties at Washington, Paris and Berne. In the autumn of 1924 became president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In August became Minister of Agriculture and in November Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in March 1925 and was appointed president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, a post he held during this period of the autumn of 1927. During this period he exercised considerable influence over Turkish foreign policy. In November 1927, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, he became Minister of Interior, and quickly effected drastic administrative changes, more particularly in the Eastern Provinces where local Kurdish disturbances had to be suppressed in December.

Shukri Kaya Bey is a coarse but refreshing personality, and is by no means unpopular. A moderate he is a disciple of Fethi Bey rather than of Ismet Pasha, though the success of his complete reversal of his predecessor's policy in the East has yet to be proved. Some time ago he showed signs of succumbing to drink, but moderation in this direction also has been noticeable of late.

Suad Bey

Born in 1878. Studied law in Paris, and in 1912 became secretary at the Sublime Porte. Was a protégé of Talaat Pasha, and quickly became head of the Consular and Commercial Department. During the armistice was Director-General of Administration at the Porte, but resigned on the fall of Ferid Pasha. In 1923 became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Angora and in 1924 representative at Rome. Appointed Ambassador there in April 1925.

Suad Bey is a somewhat aggressive and tiresome person to deal with.

Tewfik Bey, Colonel

Born about 1880. Mother a Bagdadi, father a Turk. Left the military school in 1908, and in view of his marked intelligence proceeded direct to the Staff College, whence he graduated in 1912. In 1914 he was appointed to the staff of the 19th Division, where he served under Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Later he served in the Caucasus and was on the staff of Ismet Pasha in Palestine. Joined the Nationalist movement at the beginning and was appointed to the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence with rank of Colonel. Was Turkish military adviser at the Lausanne Conference, 1922–23. In June 1924 became secretary to the President of the Republic, and held this post till November 1927, in spite of Ismet Pasha's efforts to appoint him to various missions abroad. He represented Turkey at the Arms

Traffic Conference at Geneva in the early summer of 1925. In November 1927 was appointed Ambassador at Moscow and proceeded to his post in December.

Tewfik Bey is tall, fat and pleasant, and is completely identified with Mustafa Kemal. He speaks German, Russian and French, always affable, his relations with the British delegates at Lausanne were very cordial. He is married but keeps his womenkind in seclusion.

Tevfik Kamil Bey

Born about 1880. A career diplomat, but nothing is known of his early history. He was secretary to the Turkish delegation at the Second Lausanne Conference in 1923, and on his return to Angora became Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. As such he was charged with the negotiation of friendship treaties with several foreign countries, and gradually exercised increasing influence. Resigned in October 1925 on his election as Deputy for Constantinople, which he still represents. In 1926 he became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and by his expert knowledge made his influence felt. In 1927 he was responsible for the drafting of a new law on Turkish nationality which, however, has not yet taken final shape. Represented Turkey at the Plenipotentiary Conference at Adana in November 1927. Is a member of the Assembly.

Tevfik Kamil Bey is without doubt very capable. He is, however, shy and reserved, but when better known is pleasant in conversation and ready freely to express his views on questions which interest him.

Tevfik Rushdi Bey

Born about 1885 in Macedonia of Turkish parents. Doctor in the sanitary service. In 1909 was secretary-general of the Committee of Union and Progress Congress then held. Served as a doctor during the Balkan War, and was made prisoner by the Serbs. In 1920 was a member of a mission to Russia, and later, during the Nationalist movement, was the director of an Angora newspaper. Elected Deputy for Smyrna in July 1923, was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission which considered the Lausanne Treaty. Later in the year was appointed president of the Turkish Commission for the Exchange of Populations. Already incurred criticism because of his alleged failure adequately to protect Turkish interests. Resigned in September 1924 over the *étatiste* issue, but subsequently withdrew his resignation and resumed negotiations for the conclusion of a Turco-Greek agreement. In March 1925 became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Proceeded to Europe on various missions, particularly in connexion with the Mosul question, and signed the Angora Treaty in June 1926. During the summer of 1926 his position was weakened owing to his relationship (brother-in-law) with the late Dr. Nazim, whose death sentence he endeavoured to have commuted, but this effect was apparently only temporary, and he again seemed fairly established when he met M. Chicherin at Odessa in November. During the following months rumours of his impending resignation were current, but these proved unfounded, and he retained his portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927.

Tevfik Rushdi Bey is dishevelled and repulsive in appearance. He is so volatile and voluble that he appears insane. Is supposed to have Communist leanings, but probably is an utterly cynical opportunist. Is an incessant talker, whose real influence on Turkish foreign policy is difficult to determine, though his subservience to Ismet Pasha in public lends colour to the theory that he is content for the most part to take his orders from his superior.

Yunus Nadi Bey

Born 1878, at Macri, of poor parents. Educated in Rhodes. Became a protégé of Aldin Pasha Dino, who put him in charge of his farms but dismissed him after two years because of abuses. Emerged from obscurity in 1908 and became one of the Committee of Union and Progress members for Smyrna in the Chamber of Deputies. In 1911 became editor of the Committee of Union and Progress "Tanin Effkiar" and in 1916 started the "Yeni Gun." In 1908 received £T. 30 000 from secret Committee of Union and Progress funds. Was imprisoned

soon after the armistice, but was soon released and published attacks on the Allies in his newspaper. On occupation of Constantinople in March 1920 he escaped to Angora, having for some time previously been in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Commenced publication of his paper there and became Deputy for Smyrna. In February 1921, was a member of the Angora Peace delegation to Rome, Paris and London. In the autumn he fell foul of Mustafa Kemal because of his sympathy with Enver Pasha, but in 1922 was received back into the fold and for some time was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Throughout this period he wrote many Russophil articles, and was a bitter Anglophobe. Became Deputy for Menteshe in 1923. In 1924 started the "Jumhuriet" in Constantinople, and soon after the "Yeni Gun" ceased publication. Since 1923 has been president of the Constitution Commission of the Assembly, and, 1926–27, was also a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Early in 1927 his influence was considered to be on the wane, but was re-elected Deputy in September.

Yunus Nadi Bey is short and stout and wears pince nez. He is intelligent, but is ready to tack to any wind, is an excessive drinker and an unscrupulous scoundrel whose general behaviour disgusts even the Turks. Chosen to preside over the parliamentary enquiry into the alleged peculations of the former Minister of Marine in December 1927 [illegible] as selected.

Yusuf Hikmet Bey

Born in Constantinople about 1882. Educated at the Galata Serai Lycee, [illegible]. Entered Turkish Diplomatic Service and served as a secretary at Paris and Berne. Returned to the Sublime Porte early in the armistice, but in 1920 went to Angora, where he at once became Political Director at the Foreign Ministry and accompanied the Nationalist mission to Europe in 1922. In 1924 was counsellor in London, and in January 1925 again became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry. In the summer of 1925 he became Minister at Belgrade holding the post till November 1927, when he succeeded Colonel Tevfik Bey as private secretary to the President of the Republic.

Yusuf Hikmet Bey is short, dark, and somewhat insignificant in appearance. He is, however, intelligent, and more will probably be heard of him, particularly in view of his present close association with Mustafa Kemal. He has agreeable manners and, in spite of slight deafness, was generally popular in Belgrade, where His Majesty's Minister found him pleasant to deal with. He might, nevertheless, turn out to be something of a mischief maker.

Yusuf Kemal Bey

Born in 1878 at Sinope. Entered the military school, but transferred in 1901 to the school of law, from which he graduated in 1905. Practised in Constantinople and was for a short time Deputy for Castamuni, but in 1910 joined the Opposition. In 1910 resigned his seat and spent the following two years in Paris studying law. Throughout the war practised as a barrister in Constantinople. October to December 1919 was Under-Secretary for Justice, and on being sent on a mission of reconciliation to Anatolia, was won over to the Nationalist cause and did not return to Constantinople. Became Minister of Economics early in 1920. In 1920–21 proceeded on mission to Moscow and Tiflis and attended the Baku Congress. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs in May 1921, and throughout his tenure of office was in close touch with Moscow. Proceeded to Paris and London as head of the Angora Peace delegation in March 1922. Resigned in October, nominally on grounds of ill-health. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Sinope, and in the following month was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, which examined the Lausanne Treaty. In January 1924 became Turkish Ambassador in London, but resigned in May on opting for his deputyship. In November was a rival candidate to Kiazim Pasha for the presidency of the Assembly, but was defeated, and since then has taken no prominent part in political life, being understood to be out of sympathy with the President of the Republic. From 1925–27 he was however reporter of the Justice Commission of the Assembly, and in 1927 accompanied the Minister of Justice to The Hague in connexion with the "Lotus" affair. He was re-elected Deputy in September and is now a member of the Commercial Commission of the Assembly. Yusuf Kemal Bey is a good speaker and nourishes Bolshevik sympathies, but only in so far as these do not clash with his ideals of Turkish Nationalism.

Zekai Salih Bey.

Nothing is known of his early history. Was Deputy for Adana in the first Angora Assembly, and in 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's Peace delegation to London. In the following year Turkish economic expert at the Lausanne Conference. Elected Deputy for Aidin in July 1923, he became Minister for Agriculture in March 1924. In September was appointed Ambassador to London, but was recalled early in 1925 owing to his having, on his own account, proposed a direct deal over Mosul, which he was instructed by Angora to withdraw. In May was appointed Ambassador at Moscow, and in November 1926 was present at Odessa at the interview between M. Chicherin and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in September 1927 on his election—possibly not of his own volition—as Deputy for Diarbekr and was succeeded by Colonel Tevfik Bey.

Zekai Bey is anti-British in sympathy, and when in London alienated Turkish sympathisers by his lack of courtesy towards them. On the make.

[E 248 125 65] No. 8

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 16.)

(No. 17.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 11, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in conformity with its new Kurdish policy, which was described in Mr. Houre's despatch No. 607 of the 7th ultimo, the Turkish Government has now published the names of 781 Kurds who had been deported and who may now return—presumably with their women and children—to their homes in the vilayets of Bitlis, Mahatin, Mardin, Urfa, Sert, Erzurum, Bitlis, Erzerum, Van and Diarbekr. A very few in this list are described as ex-officers, ex-Deputies and ex-mayors, and some as sons of heads of tribes.

2. I learn that the new policy was forced upon Ismet Pasha by a very pronounced movement of criticism in the Popular party, and from remarks made to the Iraq Minister of Justice by Shukri Kaya Bey it seems that the Minister himself is by no means confident of the policy he has to apply. Outside Government circles the opinion is freely held that the Kurds were too deeply embittered by the earlier policy of repression for a policy of conciliation to succeed now. Others hold that the repression has left the Government's grip upon the Kurds no stronger than it was before. The Dersim Kurds, it is said, are as much out of hand as ever they were. Meanwhile the Assembly has voted 1,500,000 liras for increasing the gendarmerie in the eastern vilayets, and Ibrahim Tali Bey, who as inspector-general is to work the miracle of reconciliation, left for Diarbekir on the 8th instant.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner for Iraq at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 249/249 89] No. 9.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 16.)

(No. 18.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 11, 1928.*

IT is perhaps not surprising that rumours of a transfer of the Syrian mandate to Italy should have found an echo in the Turkish press. I have the honour to enclose two leading articles* which appeared in the unofficial newspaper "République" on the 7th and 8th instant. In the first, Yunus Nadi Bey dwells on the unsatisfactory nature of the Turco-Syrian frontier, and rakes up an assurance of some kind which he declares M. Briand gave at the time of the London Conference to the effect that a modification might be considered later on. If Yunus Nadi Bey is true to his usual manner, this assurance was probably only a very nebulous one. But it is interesting to notice that the Turks seem still to cherish a hope of recovering, at some date and by some means, Antioch, Alexandretta and even Aleppo. I presume that the Turks at Antioch and Alexandretta are a mere handful, but one still sees occasional references

* Not printed.

to these "minorities" in the Turkish press. In her present mood Turkey does not want to be bothered by having to rule Syrians. Her interest in this question is probably strategic. She would like to hold both sides of such a vital spot as the Gulf of Alexandretta and to see her territory extend far enough towards Aleppo to embrace all sections of the railway to Nisibin. The existence of a few Turks at Antioch and Alexandretta is a pretext by which this aim may perhaps be reached. In the absence of definite information it seems possible that one reason why the delimitation of the Turco-Syrian frontier has hung fire so long is that the Turks entertain—even if they have not put it forward officially—a hankering for very substantial modifications.

2. In his second article* Yunus Nadi Bey comes to the conclusion that, in spite of her difficulties there, France could not afford to part with Syria. It is probable that such a finding would be welcome to most Turks, for the French occupation of Syria gives Turkey trouble them not at all. Others, again, might well take the view that once duly assumed responsibility for Syria she would have no time for coveting Anatolia.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 251 43/44] No. 10

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 19.)

(No. 22.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 12, 1928.*

THE recent visit of the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs to Rome has naturally aroused the attention of the Turkish press, and there has been considerable speculation as to the objects and results of his conversations with Signor Mussolini. Several articles have been devoted to the subject during the past week, both from the pen of Mahmoud Bey, the editor of the semi-official "Milliet," who is said to be in the President's confidence, and from that of Yunus Nady, the editor of the République, who is at present in Angora as a member of the commission to enquire into the irregularities of the Mosul contract.

2. The question of particular interest to Turkey is of course the possibility of an Italian descent upon Anatolia, and any idea of a rapprochement between Italy and Greece rouses the fear that those two countries may be hatching some unholy plot whereby Greece would receive a free hand in the Dodecanese islands as a price for her support in some such Italian adventure. A prominent place was therefore given to the semi-official communiqué that appeared in the Italian press immediately after M. Michalacopoulos's departure from Rome, to the effect that all rumours of Italian designs upon Anatolia were the purest fantasy. Turkish leader-writers have since then gone out of their way to emphasise the cordial nature of the relations at present existing between Italy and Turkey, though adding at the same time that Turkey is well able to cope with any aggression that might be made upon her territory from any quarter.

3. In view of the undoubted strain actually existing in Turco-Greek relations it would be too much to expect the Turkish press to make any direct comment on the possible advantage accruing to Greece from the Rome interview, but it has had the effect of diluting some of the anti-Greek venom shown of late. Thus the Turkish press was quick to declare that the sudden recall of M. Tsamados, the Greek Minister in this country, was in no way connected with any tension in the relations between the two countries, and the appointment of M. Pappa as his successor has been greeted with widely expressed satisfaction. Similarly a report that the Greek Government are proposing to invite the League of Nations or The Hague Court to arbitrate on the vexed question of the *établis* has hitherto passed without hostile comment. It is indeed suggested that the very fact of the appointment of M. Pappa, who in the past has been intimately associated with the question, on which he worked in collaboration with Tewfik Rushdi Bey, is proof that the Greek Government are desirous to seek an amicable solution of this thorny problem.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

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* Not printed.

[E 253/16/44] No. 11

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 16.)

(No. 24.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 12, 1928.*

ON my return from leave of absence at the end of last year I paid a visit to Angora, from which I have just returned.

2. I found the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the President of the Council as full as ever of professions of goodwill and friendship, but as I had brought with me a list of twenty-nine cases, on none of which had I been able to obtain answers, much less satisfaction, during the course of the year that I had been in Turkey, I fear they found that I did not respond quite as heartily as they had hoped.

3. In my interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs I gave him an *aide-mémoire* enumerating these cases, but told him that I did not propose to discuss them individually. I admitted that many of the cases were of very minor importance, and not such as should normally form the subject of discussion between a Foreign Minister and an Ambassador, but I wished him to study the list and to consider what must be the cumulative effect on my mind of this complete refusal to give practical effect to that desire for friendly relations which his Excellency and the other members of the Turkish Government so consistently professed to me. The attitude of his Department in concrete cases, coupled with the perpetual and increasing difficulties of British subjects in this country in maintaining their acknowledged and established rights, was not likely to inspire that spirit of sympathy and confidence in London which I knew it was the wish of his Government to inspire.

4. Tewfik Rushdi was obviously taken aback by what I said, for, like many of his predecessors in his high office, he cannot see why, if Turkey's general policy pleases, her overriding of our particular interests should disturb us. He made some sort of attempt to defend his Department, and abounded in promises that answers, and satisfaction where possible, would be forthcoming at once. Certainly the next day the English section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had, so I'm told, at the head of it told one of my secretaries, a very bad time, but it remains to be seen, whether this burst of energy will continue and produce concrete results. In any case, the time had come to shake up the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I trust that, as a result, a modest percentage of current questions may be settled.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 470/127/44] No. 12

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 30.)

(No. 5.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 24, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the trial of the Communists reported in my despatch No. 355 of the 7th November last came to an end on the 23rd instant. The fifty-seven accused were mostly Constantinople men, but some came from Smyrna, Adana and Eskishehr, which are industrial centres in a very small way. A few were from the professional classes, but the great majority were working men—fitters, joiners, factory hands, barbers, &c. Most again were Moslem Turks, but there was a sprinkling of Greeks and Armenians. Of all this crowd eighteen have been acquitted and the rest have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from two and a half to four months, except a certain Dr. Shefik Husni, who is regarded as the ringleader and receives a sentence of a year and a half.

2. At first sight it is surprising that such light sentences were imposed, but it appears that there was little evidence forthcoming to substantiate the charge of attempting by conspiracy to change the form of government. Dr. Shefik Husni who had started Communist papers in Turkey, ran away to Vienna in 1925 to escape a sentence of the Independence Tribunal. From there he directed the activities of another Turk—one Vedad Nedim—who was given a post in "Arcos," formed a central Communist committee in Constantinople, distributed funds and sent agents to form branches in Smyrna, Adana and Eskishehr. That they went beyond that point no proof was produced.

3. It can hardly be supposed that such a sentence as this will carry out the intention Tewfik Rushdi Bey announced of clearing up every Communist cell in the country. Doubtless the main Communist organisation in Turkey is composed of Russians and, as will be observed, not a single Russian was arrested. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the Turkish Government should have gone even so far as it did in an anti-Communist direction. Two years ago such action would have been out of the question, but to-day Turkey has sufficient confidence in the general stability of her internal situation not to hesitate to take action which may be displeasing to Moscow.

4. Not that Turkey feels yet entirely free from Russian trammels. It is rumoured, and likely enough, that the Soviet Embassy brought pressure to bear in favour of the accused. Without such pressure the sentences would probably have been less lenient.

5. On the other hand, a leading article in the "République" of the 23rd January denounces Communism as the antithesis of the Nationalism which saved Turkey, denies that there is any class struggle, asks what country has ever been made happy by Communism and characterises as crazy all who count such a scourge or chimera. Such language in the press was unthinkable even a few months ago.

6. I am also informed that the Turkish Government is quietly deporting 100 Hungarian workmen at Angora, whom the Soviet Embassy had inoculated with Communism. The Turkish Government is in effect showing unmistakably, both to the Communists of Turkey and to the outside world, that within Turkey at any rate it has no fear of Communism.

7. Meanwhile, it would seem that Turkey is still arising from the Turco-Russian Treaty. The Turks are naturally vexed at the restrictions and vexations which their exports encounter. They are also conscious that the Russians are conducting a certain amount of propaganda across their common frontier. The Russians, on the other hand, must look askance at the anti-Bolshevik Moslems from Caucasia with their so-called "philanthropic" societies, whom the Turks are not sorry to have here.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 472/43/44 No. 3

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 30.)

(No. 30.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 25, 1928.*

IN my despatch No. 22 of the 12th January I reported the immediate repercussions in this country of M. Michalopoulos's recent visit to Rome, so far as it was possible to judge from the semi-inspired articles of the Turkish press. Since then the press has continued to devote a certain amount of attention to Greek affairs, but, so far as relations between Greece and Turkey are concerned, the discussion has been entirely confined to the question of the exchange of populations. It is indeed freely stated that this is now the only question of conflict between the two countries, and that, if once it were settled, there should be nothing to prevent the two countries harbouring entirely friendly relations.

2. From this the next step was a short one to the suggestion that the two Governments would be well advised to rid themselves of the Mixed Commission with its attendant expenses and to settle by direct diplomatic means the problems which are at present being dealt with by that body. The appointment of M. Pappa as Greek Minister at Angora, with his expert knowledge of the question, seemed to suggest that this would not be unwelcome to the Greek Government, and it was indeed first put about that the proposal had originated from the Greek side. This, however, was at once flatly denied by the Greek members of the Mixed Commission, upon which the Turkish press came out into the open and adopted the proposal as its own.

3. An article of some significance appeared in the "Milliet" on the 22nd January in which it was suggested that if the Greek Government paid over without further delay the £T.600,000 which provision had been made in the Athens Agreement of the 1st December, 1926, one of the chief problems, that of compensating the Turks whose property had been acquired by the Greek Government under that agreement, would be settled automatically. A similar rough and ready method was proposed for solving the equally disputed question of determining what persons are to be considered

as *établis* in Constantinople for the purpose of the exchange: the "Milliet" suggested that the question would be decided numerically, *i.e.*, by agreeing on the number of "exchangeables" and treating the remainder as *établis*.

4. From the Turkish point of view, there seems everything to be gained by settling the outstanding questions on such broad lines and bringing an end to the Mixed Commission. The Turkish Government are far more interested in consolidating their country internally than in fighting their nationals' battles abroad, and they may well look upon the Mixed Commission as, at the best, an expensive luxury. They are, too, possibly convinced by now that the Greek Government are physically unable to hand back to their Turkish owners the properties in Western Thrace which were to be restored under article 9 of the Athens Agreement, seeing that the whole country is overrun with refugees. It would then, on the face of it, be to Turkey's advantage to cut that particular loss, at the same time leaving herself a free hand to seek compensation for any defaults on the Greek side by distraining upon the property of the Greek population in Turkey. The Turkish Government would have here an excellent pretext for carrying to still further extremes the present campaign of uprooting the non-Turk out of Turkey. At the same time, any wholesale onslaught upon Greek property in Constantinople might be difficult so long as the Mixed Commission remained in being. It is therefore easy to understand, or at any rate to speculate, why the Turks are suggesting its early abolition; and the bargain would, of course, be a still better one if it involved the immediate cash-down payment of £500,000 by the Greek Government.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

E 473 128,44 No. 11

Sir G. *Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.*—(*Received January 31*)

(No. 57 Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 25, 1928*

IN his despatch No. 649 of the 28th ultimo, Mr. Hoare reported on the early phases of the scandal in which the ex-Minister of Marine is involved over the repairing of the "Gulhen" and of a floating dock. Since that date public attention has become more and more drawn to this question and, although the probable outcome is still doubtful, it is now clear that the whole matter is one of first-class internal political importance. The charge of corruption, although justified, is only a pretext. The Ghazi is really trying another fall, and the forces against him are far from despicable.

2. Since Committee of Union and Progress days Ihsan Bey, the late Minister of Marine, has been a friend and fellow Jacobin of "Bald" Ali, the hanging judge with the benign face of a Scotch elder. For some months relations between "Bald" Ali and Ismet Pasha have been strained. Ali wanted to get a more liberal element into the new Assembly. Ismet insisted on confining it to trusted nonentities. Ali wanted to be Minister of the Interior. Ismet refused to have him. Ali wrote Ismet a threatening letter of which the gist was that, if misfortune befell the Ghazi, he, Ismet, had better look out. This brought Ali into conflict with the Ghazi and one evening when all present were in congenial mood Ali, it is reported, exhorted the Ghazi to bethink him of the fate of Danton and Robespierre. About the same time the Ghazi's attention was attracted, as reported in the last paragraph of Mr. Hoare's despatch No. 649 by the luxuriousness of Ihsan's style of living. When the Ghazi commented on it, Ihsan said in the usual phrase: "It is thanks to your bounty," to which the Ghazi replied sarcastically: "You mean to your father's bounty!" everyone present knowing that Ihsan had not inherited more piastres than a small maker of native ink in the Scutari bazaar would be likely to leave to his son. Shortly after this, the story goes, Nuri, Fahk Rifki, Rushen Eshref, an aide-de-camp and one or two others were supping with the Ghazi when Ali Bey was announced. He came in a little drunk and started at once to plead for Ihsan. The Ghazi turned [illegible] that he ought to know better than anyone that the law was the law and must be [illegible]. After that Ali went on drinking and started a fierce quarrel with Fehmi Bey. The Ghazi intervened angrily and for a moment peace was restored, but the squabble broke out again and this time all but the Ghazi set upon Ali to turn him out. In the course of the struggle he drew his revolver, whereupon he was thrown into the hall and vigorously beaten up. A moment later the Ghazi came out and told the others to leave him alone and give him a guard to see him home safely—which was done. Next day Ali came to Chan Kaya to apologise, but the Ghazi refused to see him and there is no doubt that he is in complete and permanent disgrace.

3. The present position is that under the chairmanship of that scurrilous journalist Yunus Nadi—one of the worst blackguards in Turkey—the special commission has held a preliminary enquiry, questioned Ihsan and his associates in plunder, heard Ismet Pasha and numbers of officials, and finally ordered the arrest of three more Deputies and demanded the impeachment in appropriate form of Ishan and another Deputy. (Incidentally it is already rumoured that a similar charge of peculation is being brought against Yunus Nadi.)

4. One of the three peculators already arrested is, like Ali and Ihsan, an old Committee of Union and Progress man by name Salmanjah Hakki, and herein seems to lie the gravest danger for the Government. In letting Ismet Pasha try to oust Ihsan the Ghazi has pitted himself not against a mere individual but against a definite clique of old Committee of Union and Progress men who until recently were in his most intimate entourage. It has happened before now that during convivial nights the Ghazi's cronies have had their revolvers out and winged one another, but hitherto Mustafa Kemal has always made them kiss and be friends again. This time things seem to be going beyond a possibility of reconciliation, although I learn from a reliable source that the organisation of the old Committee of Union and Progress still exists, and will probably count on the support of a good many officers and others besides.

5. It is interesting to estimate the elements in the Turkish political world which are out now has against him. Firstly, there are the old adherents of the Palace, the most important of whom are on the list of the 150 exiles. Secondly, there are the surviving Committee of Union and Progress leaders, some of whom—like Rahmi—are in Paris or elsewhere abroad, while others like Jahid, the journalist, or Azmi, the [illegible] have been cowed into submission, though none too pleased with the result of their efforts. Thirdly, the Ghazi has not managed to keep on terms with even the more [illegible] old Opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress such as Colonel Sadik, who is in Egypt, and Lutfi Fikri, who is practising as a lawyer here. Fourthly, there are the members of the Opposition party, which developed at Angora and is now excluded from the Assembly—notably Rauf and Adnan, who are abroad, and the generals Kiazim Karabekir, Ali Fuad and Refet, who are here. Lastly, comes this split among the Ghazi's own "gunmen." This is a formidable list. The Ghazi's policy of employing only second-class men has the unfortunate effect of making the Opposition not only big but superior in ability.

6. According to present indications it is quite possible that Ihsan will not submit without a struggle. That struggle may be decided with revolvers, and no one can foresee how far it may extend first. Authority depends ultimately, of course, on the army, but I am not sure how completely the army would be with the Ghazi over the present issue, and even if the army were solid with him, things might be decided before it could intervene. Without wishing to be alarmist, therefore, I cannot say that I view the immediate future with entire confidence. If misfortune were to befall the Ghazi, it is doubtful whether the man to hold the country together could be found among his supporters and would not rather emerge from his adversaries. If so great an internal change were not to invite any aggressive move on the part of Italy, Greece or Russia we might consider ourselves fortunate.

7. In conclusion, I would repeat that I do not wish to cause unnecessary alarm. Everything will, I trust, pass off quietly. On the other hand, it is no use blinking the fact that the whole position here hangs on a slender thread. On good authority I heard the other evening that not long ago, Salih Bey, a boon companion of the Ghazi, heard a thud at a moment when his back was turned, looked round and saw the Ghazi on the ground. He thought the Ghazi was dead, but it was a heart attack and Mustafa Kemal came round—and forthwith had two more glasses of "douzico." That sort of thing can hardly last.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 565/128/44] No. 15.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 6.)

(No. 71.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 1, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 16th January three laws were promulgated dealing with the distribution of work in the Turkish Government. According to the first law, the Ministry of Marine is abolished as a separate Ministry and becomes part of the Ministry of National Defence. According to the second law, the Under-Secretaries of State in the Ministries of Defence and Marine are abolished and in their place Under-Secretaries at the Ministry of Defence are created for Land, Marine and Air as well as a General-Director for Arts and Crafts. By the third law the separate Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture are abolished and formed into a single Ministry of Economy.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 709 43 44] No. 16.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 13.)

No. 48.)

Sir, *Athens, February 6, 1928.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 9 of the 28th January respecting new demands alleged by the "Eleftheron Vema" to have been put forward by the Turkish Minister, I have the honour to inform you that, while negotiations over the properties question are known to be still in progress, I have received no official confirmation of any new development in the situation.

2. [illegible] that the article in the "Eleftheron Vema" was based on that which appeared in the "Midhet" of the 22nd January, which I immediately observed (see paragraph 3 of Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 56 of the 26th January).

3. It is of course quite possible that some suggestion on these lines may have been made, but, to judge from comments in the Greek press, it is not likely to be welcome there.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE

E 840 708 44 No. 7

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 20.)

(No. 102.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 15, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions in Turkey.

2. With the practical closing down of the delegation of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Constantinople, direct intercourse between foreign missions and the capital has become closer. Practically all diplomatic business is now conducted at Angora, and it is not only unnecessary, but confusing, to continue to divide the Diplomatic Body, for the purpose of this report, into residents at Angora and Constantinople.

3. As regards progress made with the construction of Embassy and Legation houses at Angora and with the taking up of permanent residence at the latter place, this may be said to have been steady but not sensational.

4. The programme of the German Embassy is still to take up residence in the capital in the autumn of this year. Seven buildings, large and small, are in course of erection, but Herr Nadolny's ideas on the subject of office accommodation are said that the secretaries will have to find houses or lodgings in the town. Moreover, although after many efforts water has at last been found at a depth of over 100 metres, the prospects of anything like an adequate supply are gloomy.

5. The Polish Legation is slowly completing its building, but the new Chargé d'Affaires does not seem in a hurry to take up his residence, which perhaps accounts for the delay in the supply of funds necessary to keep the work going.

6. The French and American Embassies are negotiating for parcels of land on which to build, and the Roumanian, Austrian and several other Legations have taken flats in order to avoid the inconvenience and discomfort of the local hotels when the Ministers or their representatives have to be in residence at the capital. These occasions are noticeably more frequent than last year, partly, no doubt, because of the need for renewing, at six months' intervals, the commercial and other agreements that the Turkish Government has concluded with their several countries.

7. On the whole, an increasing tendency to move to the capital is in the air, though the normal conditions for modern civilised life and permanent residence are as far to seek as ever.

8. In order to avoid undue length in the enclosed report, I have not included any extracts from my report of last year.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 17.

Report on the Heads of Missions.

Russia

AMBASSADORS.

M. JACQUES SOURITZ, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 13th June, 1923. Since the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic I have had no intercourse with M. Souritz, beyond the exchange of polite greetings when we meet on official occasions.

Germany

Herr Rudolf Nadolny, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 31st March, 1925. Herr Nadolny's enthusiasm for Angora goes far beyond that of his staff, who, already arbitrarily treated and needlessly overworked by their chief, will not take up life at the capital next autumn with any enthusiasm. Herr Nadolny's staff are doubtful of the wisdom of his policy of inducing German industry and finance to embark upon large commitments in Turkey, and it is believed that, in private letters to the financiers and industrialists concerned, they contradict their chief's reports. In fact, the German Embassy seem to have retained the special features of many German Embassies before the war. The counsellor is thought to be here to check and comment upon his chief's reports, and the opposition of his first secretary, whose political connexions and character might make him dangerous, is notorious.

To me Herr Nadolny remains as friendly as ever, but my trust in him refuses to grow, possibly, in part, because he is always trying to foist upon me work which properly belongs to him as *de facto* doyen, the actual doyen, M. Souritz, being admittedly useless in this capacity.

Italy

M. Luca Orsini Baroni, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 3rd November, 1925. My hopes of finding M. Orsini Baroni an agreeable and level-headed colleague have been amply fulfilled. He is always ready to give me any information either about his own dealings with Tewfik Rushdi or about matters Turkish in general.

Japan

Mr. Y. Obata, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 23rd November, 1925. Owing to Court mourning and the inaccessibility of the Embassy, I have not seen much of my Japanese colleague during the past year. It is rumoured that when he takes accumulated leave at the end of this year, he will not return to Turkey.

The subjects and manner of Mrs. Obata's conversation have suffered no change since the last report.

France

M Emile Daeschner, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 28th October, 1926. M Daeschner continues to impress me as a loyal and friendly colleague, but I do not yet feel that I have penetrated his reserve. Through an accidental chain of mutual friends, I learnt that M. Daeschner finds the same difficulty with me, and though I have since done my best to dissipate this sentiment, I fear that I have not yet completely succeeded

United States of America

The Hon Joseph Grew, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 12th October, 1927 The agreement signed between the American and Turkish Governments during the course of the year led to the replacement of Admiral Bristol by Mr Joseph Grew The latter was accompanied by his wife and two daughters, one of whom is grown up. Like him, they are pleasant and good to look upon and have made a welcome addition to Constantinople society

Mrs. Grew's initial enthusiasm for Angora was cooled to freezing-point by her utter inability to find even her most elementary wants in the way of furniture and other necessaries for the Embassy building in the capital, and she is understood to have made up her mind that her visits there shall be as short as possible. Mr Grew is an amateur musician of some talent and misses the good concerts to which he is accustomed He is already popular with the American community

Mr Grew has frankly expressed his hopes for the most open and cordial relations with myself a sentiment that I have told him I warmly share

Persia

Sadik Alan Tabatabai returned to Persia in June of last year and has not as yet been replaced, though popular rumour has it that when Mohammed Ali Khan Furuki has completed his complicated negotiations with Turkey he will be appointed as Ambassador at Angora

To judge by the conversation of this pleasantly-erudite Asiatic envoy, there is nothing in the world he would like less than to be condemned to spend some years among a people for whose Turanianism he, as a true Tabrizi, has little use, and whose lack of literary tastes and uncomfortable capital are quite abhorrent to his nature

MINISTERS

Roumania

M Georges Filality, fully accredited Minister presented his credentials on the 20th April, 1924. M. Filality has hardly had to overcome his openly expressed dislike of Angora and to pay occasional visits to the capital for the purpose of carrying on negotiations for the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Roumania and Turkey His jovial comments about the capital have lost none of their pungency

Hungary

M. Tahy de Tahvar et Turkeo, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1924 M. de Tahy's impatience of the ways of the Turk does not diminish His immediate preoccupation is the necessity for preventing Hungarian workmen from coming to Turkey, because those already at Angora have seemingly been won over to Communism by propaganda put about by the Soviet Embassy and have had in consequence to be sent back to their native land under escort

Italy

M Augusto Kreil, Italy accredited Minister presented his credentials on the 11th November, 1924 I have nothing to add to my predecessor's estimate of M. Kreil who, with his wife and grown up daughter, are pleasant enough colleagues, though inclined to stop on at lunches and dinners long after the other guests, who are waiting for them to leave first have ceased to enjoy themselves

Belgium

Baron J. de Villenfagne de Sorinnes, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 4th April 1925 Baron de Villenfagne is leaving Turkey shortly on appointment to Sweden His wife is unfortunately subject to mild fits if she gets too excited, but is pleasant and well-spoken

Sweden

M Wahlenberg fully accredited Minister presented his credentials on the 1st August 1925 M Wahlenberg has lost no opportunity of airing his Turcophil views or encouraging his countrymen to enlarge their connexions with the country he appears to admire so much

His wife's homeliness is to some extent made up for by her unheralded and extensive charity

Spain

Don Juan Servert y Vest, fully accredited Minister presented his credentials on the 3rd August 1925 I regret that I have had but little contact with the hermit of Bayas Dear but at such times as I have seen him, M Servert has appeared to be pleasant and genial

Netherlands

Baron de Welderen Rengers, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th August, 1925 Sir R Lindsay reported on Baron Rengers in the following terms

(Baron Rengers's last post was at Rome Unlike the majority of one's diplomatic colleagues in Constantinople, he bears the hall mark of a diplomatist *de carrière* He does not approve of Constantinople as a post He is fond of wine and after dinner can be very diverting Owing to the Dutch Legation being in charge of Austrian interests he has a certain amount of work to do, otherwise most of his time is spent in frequenting places where he can get the opportunity of a drink or of seeing a pretty woman 1923)

(A lascivious fellow, a light weight Mme. Rengers talks too much about her domestic difficulties 1924)

I agree with my predecessor's estimate

Czechoslovakia

M Miles Kohr fully accredited Minister presented his credentials on the 18th January 1926 M. Kohr was rumoured while on leave to be desirous of divorcing his wife, but he returned to Angora without doing so and without any apparent intention to do so Apart from his love of a showy horse and physical fitness, he has few subjects of conversation and probably little to keep him occupied

Afghanistan

General Gulam Djelani Khan, fully accredited Minister presented his credentials on the 24th February, 1926. I have once met my Afghan colleague at a dinner at the Austrian Legation to which he was invited because, when the Minister asked if he now spoke French, he replied "oui" It transpired subsequently that "oui" and "non" was the extent of the knowledge he had acquired, and I fear that I have therefore no more knowledge of him than I had last year Perhaps the forthcoming visit of the King of Afghanistan will provide an occasion for closer acquaintance

Albania

M Raoul Litso, fully accredited Minister presented his credentials on the 9th March 1926. Raouf Bey Litso has continued to be friendly with the Embassy at Angora but his statements have occasionally to be taken with some reserve as he is fond of sensationalism

Denmark

M Oldenburg, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11th April, 1926. The Danish Government has decided to appoint an independent Minister or Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, and M. Oldenburg has therefore presented his letters of recall. M. Malthe-Braun is also to leave shortly for Rio de Janeiro. The new Minister will, it is said, be appointed for Greece, Bulgaria and Roumania, as well as Turkey, and will reside, while in this country, mostly at Angora.

Egypt

Abdul Aziz Rashed Pasha, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 21st March, 1927. Mohammed Hedaya Pasha was succeeded by Abdul Aziz Rashed, a friendly and well-disposed little man, punctilious about matters such as farewell calls before his every departure for Bucharest or elsewhere.

Bulgaria

M. Theodore Pavaff, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1927. M. Pavloff and his wife are favourable representatives of their country. He was, I understand, at one time a member of the Turkish Assembly in the Committee of Union and Progress days, an experience that no doubt helps him in his task.

Yugoslavia.

M. Vladimir Tadjtch, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 23rd January, 1928. M. Popovitch has been replaced by M. T. Vladitch, with whom I have not as yet come into contact, as he has only just presented his letters and has taken up residence for the time being at Angora.

Greece

M. Tsamados was apparently recalled by his Government in somewhat mysterious circumstances at the end of the year. His replacement let loose the usual flood of Levantine rumours, some of which were connected with the honour of his Constantinopolitan wife, but little concrete evidence in support of these tales has as yet transpired. He is to be succeeded by M. Pappas, the chief Greek expert on matters concerning the Mixed Exchange Commission, who previously served on that body with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Vatican

At such times as I have met Mgr. Rotta he has shown himself to be affable and friendly. He is shrewd and credited with a good insight into Turkish affairs and character.

CHARGÉS D'AFFAIRES

Switzerland

M. Henri Martin, Chargé d'Affaires, presented his credentials on the 6th June, 1926. Throughout the summer M. Martin was an object of amusement to the Diplomatic Corps at Angora by reason of his voluminous, liberally-sealed and decorated correspondence with Berne, which he entrusted daily to anyone taking the train for Constantinople. The one hundred or more pages a day he found it necessary to send home in connexion with his negotiations for a commercial treaty appear so to have worn him out that he was seriously ill in hospital at Angora for a time and has now had to take a long leave. His secretary and typist is said to be inconsolable.

Poland

M. C. Papee, Chargé d'Affaires. Constantinople society, as well as the Polish Government, suffered a considerable loss by the sudden death in the early autumn of M. Kowalski, who, with his wife and family, had made himself popular in all circles, although he was fearless in his representations to the Turkish Government about such vexed questions as the recognition of the Polish nationality of a large section of former Russian subjects now resident in Poland. It is feared that his patriotic disregard of his own purse has left his family in straitened financial circumstances. He has been succeeded so far only by a counsellor, M. Papée, who has the temporary rank of Chargé d'Affaires. I have not yet met him.

Iraq.

Sabih Bey-el-Nishat, Chargé d'Affaires. At the beginning of 1928 Sabih Bey-el-Nishat was sent from Bagdad to take up his duties as Chargé d'Affaires. His appearance does not belie his past reputation, but he is evidently proud of his country and expresses a keen desire to receive guidance from this Embassy. His Turkish education and connexion with many of the present leaders of Turkey may be of some assistance not only to Iraq but also to His Majesty's Government, but at a first glance he appears to be a man to be treated with discretion.

Constantinople, February 15, 1928.

E 341/18/44] No. 18

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 20.)

(No. 101.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February* 16, 1928.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 39 of the 19th January last, I have the honour to inform you that a [illegible] of an one foreign group is reported to be in negotiation with the Turkish Government for the transfer to them of the Belgian contract for the construction of the Cæsarea-Sivas-Turhal Railway, recently denounced, as well as for the construction of the projected Erzerum-Sivas Line.

2. Amongst these groups figure the German consortium, consisting of the firms of Otto Wolff, Julius Berger and Krupps, and the American firm of Fox Brothers, which are [illegible] broken off their connexions with the Para Gesellschaft, whose railway rights upon by the Turkish Ambassador in Paris, as well as a [illegible] consisting of Turkish engineers and contractors recently employed on the Cæsarea group and by the Turkish Government itself on different sections of the same construction.

3. This scheme which is reported to involve a capital of £T 2,500,000 and is supported by the Turkish Bank, proposes to undertake construction work only against 40 per cent. payment in bonds and the remainder in cash.

4. Although no definite information has been obtained, I learn from a usually reliable source that the American proposals are said to be looked upon with favour, assuming that three years' credit is granted, but on the other hand national sentiment is a factor in favour of the Turkish association, and in commenting upon the competing groups the press lays stress on this point.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 1001/43/44] No. 19.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 27.)

(No. 65.)

Sir, *Athens, February* 18, 1928.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 48 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to inform you that on the 16th instant "Eleftheron Vema" published an article on Greco-Turkish relations, in which, after a recapitulation of the various stages in recent negotiations between Greece and Turkey, the writer concludes that Greco-Turkish relations are traversing a period which is more than ever critical owing to the fault of Turkey. It is true, he admits, that faults have been committed by the Greek Government as well in dealing with the questions of the exchange of populations, but these faults have mostly been involuntary, and in no way justify the attitude of Turkey towards Greece, which manifestly has in view the seizure of all Greek properties in

Turkey, including those of non-exchangeables, and the expulsion of the latter from Turkey.

2. But for centuries, Greece is not so defenceless as is believed in Angora. In addition to having right on her side, she has other arms. She has sought to restore peaceable relations with Turkey since the Peace Treaty was signed and to drop the threat of the past. But if Turkey insists upon pushing matters to extremes and increasing the concentration of refugees on Greek territory to a suffocating point, nobody can blame Greece if she should eventually cast in her lot with those States which also suffer from a superabundance of population, and who see at a short distance from their coasts immense tracts of land lying uncultivated and almost uninhabited.

3. I was inclined to see in this article an inspired threat on the part of the Greek Government to Turkey, but M. Lambrakis informed Mr. Atchley that this was not the case, and that he had written the article on his own account. M. Lambrakis stated that the Greek Government were absolutely convinced of the determination of the Turks to expel all the Greeks from Constantinople and Eastern Thrace at all costs, and as article was intended as an attempt to gain time by giving the impression that, in certain circumstances, Greece might be forced to throw in her lot with Italy. The Greek Government, he said, were most anxious to defer the evil day as long as possible as the refugees already in Greece have not yet been completely settled, and the arrival of another 250,000 would be extremely embarrassing, especially as the newcomers would be town-dwellers and not agriculturists. Of course, he said, the Greek Government would like to expel the 60,000 Turks of Western Thrace, but that would not relieve the situation very much, since these Turks were agriculturists almost to a man. The Greeks must also resort to other methods of getting rid of the Greeks, such as making their life in Turkey intolerable, and the present policy of Turkey seemed to be directed to that end.

4. M. Lambrakis explained that there could be no idea of Greece going back to Asia Minor or aiming at Constantinople. The utmost she would think of was the re-occupation of Eastern Thrace, and that, of course, only in case of an armed breach with Turkey. Greece was incapable by herself of reoccupying Asia Minor, and he thought that Italy could do so unaided.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

E 984/569/44] No. 20

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 27.)

(No. 112.)
Sir, *Angora, February 21, 1928.*

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs gave a ball last night in his house, to which were invited all the heads of missions and senior members of the Diplomatic Body, the Turkish Ministers and other high officials and some ninety of the principal Deputies.

2. Normally such an event would scarcely warrant recording in an official despatch, but Angora is not as other places. Apart from the fact that the ball was the first attempt of Tewfik Rushdi at official entertainment on any large scale and as such can fairly be called a great success, these occasions have an importance of their own in that they are a sort of barometer of Turkish progress in the outward graces of civilisation. In this respect a great advance was noticeable, taking as a standard for comparison the similar ball given a year ago by the President of the Council, which in its turn was hailed as the perfection of decorum by comparison with the beer-fights of previous years.

3. Last night everything was admirably done, and the guests, even the Turkish ladies, gave the impression of genuinely enjoying themselves, while there was neither the forlorn stiffness nor the offensive drunkenness which had characterised former festivities. In fact, in so far as such events have any value as a measure of a country's civilisation, one could fairly describe it as marking a great step forward. I can perhaps best express it by saying that, had my wife been present, I should not have had a moment's uneasiness, whereas a year ago I should have been during the whole evening for her absence.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 985/43/44] No. 21.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 27.)

(No. 113.)
Sir, *Angora, February 21, 1928.*

THE ball last night at the house of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which I have recorded in my despatch No. 112 of to-day's date, gave an occasion for a noticeable demonstration of friendliness on the part of the President of the Republic.

2. It would seem that Sabih Bey el-Nishat, the Iraq Chargé d'Affaires, whose arrival I reported in my despatch No. 69 of the 31st January last, had been confused with another Sabih Bey, and it was only last night that the Ghazi, seeing him in person for the first time, realised that it was his old comrade-in-arms. Such was the Ghazi's pleasure at the meeting that he kissed Sabih Bey on both cheeks, as the latter proudly informed me with tears of joy still running down them. The President, who, contrary to prevalent rumour, seemed to be in good health, then sent for me to tell me of his gratification at finding his old friend and to recommend him to my most benevolent care.

3. As is often the case with the Ghazi, he started from this simple basis to thrash up a long and admirably phrased speech. I think that the circle of admirers and egotistical diplomats that inevitably encircles the chief of a State inspires him to eloquence. The gist of what His Excellency said was that he knew Sabih Bey as a brave man and a gentleman, and that as a Frenchman is an enemy, just as he himself and his country had been hereditary enemies and were now honourable friends. These sentiments were in the English nature also, and therefore we could let us let bygones be bygones and work together for peaceful progress. The policy of Turkey under his direction had no hidden or inferior aims; it was solely for the internal development of the country and the prosperity of the inhabitants. England worked on these lines, too, and the two countries could here hail the eager faces of the Italian counsellor and the French military attaché peering over the shoulders of the interpreter; and France and Italy, whose policy was similarly peaceful and honourable, could and should collaborate in harmony. Were he to die to-morrow there were a thousand men as good to replace him—"not," said the Ghazi turning to Colonel Sarrou, the French military attaché, "that I have any intention of dying to-morrow, as your lying papers say. You must telegraph at once that I have not died, that I am not dying and that I am not going to die. You, like Sabih Bey, are a man of honour and an old friend of mine, so that I can ask you to tell your papers to write the truth." And thereupon the four of us, the Ghazi, Colonel Sarrou, Sabih Bey and myself, adjourned hand in hand to the buffet and pledged each other in a glass of Angora's favourite champagne.

4. As will be seen from the above summary of over half an hour's discourse, there was nothing much said beyond somewhat platitudinous generalities. The interest of the incident lay in the sincerely friendly tone of the Ghazi's references to England, his statement of belief in the honesty of our policy and its accordance with that of Turkey, the way in which he took me as the natural guide and protector of the Iraq Chargé d'Affaires and the marked friendliness of his manner to me personally.

5. I made what I trust was, in the somewhat embarrassing circumstances, a suitable reply. I find it difficult to deliver impromptu a speech of which every word is being noted by avid colleagues, while the Head of State, to whom it is being addressed, clasps my hand in an unrelenting grip. I did at least try to convince the Ghazi that the admirable sentiments he had expressed were fully shared by my Government, and that the aims which inspired his Excellency were those we also consistently followed.

6. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 988, 43, 44] No. 22.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 27.)

(No. 110. Confidential.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch from His Majesty's naval attaché to this Embassy respecting the Greek and Turkish navies.

Constantinople, February 22, 1928.

Enclosure in No. 22.

Captain Burke to Sir G. Clerk.

(Confidential.)

Your Excellency, *Constantinople, February 17, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to submit the following report upon the Greek and Turkish naval situations. As far as I am able to judge, Turkey appears to have a quite clearly defined policy of "isolation and security" with no ambitions for territorial expansion, but she finds herself in a position of considerable difficulty. On one side she sees Russia, untrustworthy and with an avowed policy of world domination, on the other side Greece, suffering from wounded pride and thwarted ambition, and Italy, who is forced by the pressure of her increasing population into a policy of expansion and ruled by men openly ambitious for her future. Turkey's defence problem is further complicated by the possession of Constantinople, the age-long lure of several countries' ambitions, and one of the traditional and natural objectives of her neighbour Russia, and, moreover, Constantinople is one of the foci of international commerce, and the Turk is not administering, nor does it appear that he intends to administer, this great port in the interests of world trade, and therefore must inevitably be involved in disagreements with other nations. Further, there are still several political questions, legacies of the war, which remain to be settled.

2. The new Turkey is not an industrialist country and is comparatively independent of sea communications. She is therefore not to any great degree susceptible to naval pressure. On the other hand, her potential aggressors are so dependent, and in the case of invasion their armies would be dependent to a large extent upon sea communications.

3. Turkish naval policy appears therefore to resolve itself into a matter of having a sufficiently strong force to act as a deterrent against any enemy of approximately equal or somewhat superior power, to force on the purpose of raiding and making [illegible] other [illegible] and to secure this force being also desirable as a [illegible] supporting any post-war diplomatic dealings with coast countries.

4. Turkey finds herself in possession of the battle cruiser "Yavous." Sentiment and *amour-propre* would alone urge her to maintain this unit in some sort of fighting condition, but, apart from these reasons, it is required to perform a definite and quite legitimate function in the defence of the country.

5. It appears that it is the firm intention of the Turkish Government to recondition and place this vessel into as good a fighting trim as possible, and the general opinion appears to be that she will be capable of a sea going speed of 23 to 24 knots and will be ready for service in eighteen months. Ex-German gunnery petty officers are to be engaged as captains of turrets, and on paper the Turks will possess a very serviceable fighting unit. But in actual fact there may be as much as a 70 per cent. difference between the paper and the actual fighting value of a naval unit. The Turks are indifferent seamen and have no experience of capital ships, which depend to a very large extent indeed on the efficiency of their officers and crews. A certain efficiency would be obtained if the ex-German officers and petty officers were given complete executive control and sufficient funds were allowed for maintenance and continuous training, but the former would not be tolerated by the Turks, funds are not available, and the Turkish temperament does not endure proper sea-training.

6. To sum up; in my opinion whilst a reconditioned "Yavouz" must be a matter of concern to another country contemplating a war of aggression, she neither constitutes a challenge, nor does she foreshadow any aggressive designs on the part

of her possessor, she should be the "spear-head" of what the Italians term "active defence."

7. The Greek naval staff appear to be hampered by the formula "Naval supremacy in the Ægean," which is considered desirable in order to strengthen the Government's hands in their diplomatic dealings with Turkey, and are apparently engaged in making plans for a single handed war against Turkey. They continually come up against the "Yavouz" in their arrangements for protecting convoys and similar operations, and in the staff solutions of these problems they can only find the counter in building a more modern capital ship and in the meantime maintaining the old battleships "Kilkis" and "Lemnos" in the best fighting trim possible, they are therefore bound to advise the Government in this sense, and are apparently backed up by a large section of public opinion.

8. In my opinion, despite the immense amount of irresponsible instructed and responsible but uninstructed opinion, no staff, even if composed exclusively of submarine and air force officers, who are actually responsible for war plans, would ever claim to be able to protect the high seas routes entirely by means of aircraft and submarines; and, further, when it comes to working out actual expenses, it is frequently found to be more economical as well as more effective to counter capital ships by similar units in operations on the high seas, the Greek naval staff have shown that this would be so in their case, though the number of submarines (thirty-six) demanded by them appears to me unnecessarily high.

9. But I submit that, in the case of Greece, to embark on a capital ship programme would not be to her best policy for the following reasons:

It would, in the first place, constitute an unnecessary challenge to Turkey. Greece, from her geographical situation, has a position of immense strategical and commercial importance, and if equipped with a moderate but efficient coast-defence force, her support in any clash of interests in the Mediterranean would be extremely valuable and her friendship would be sought for. On the other hand, the possession of one or even two, capital ships would not increase her value as an ally *vis-à-vis* the Great Powers. For the present, at any rate, she does not appear to be strong enough to stand alone, nor does there appear to be any necessity for her to do so; she should be able to have powerful friends, who would assist her in maintaining her territory inviolate and who would make it extremely hazardous for another Power to undertake any aggressive adventure against her.

Greece is in a better position than Turkey as regards personnel, having an intelligent seafaring population of excellent quality to draw upon.

I have, &c.

C. D. BURKE,
Captain and Naval Attaché.

[E 989/43/44] No. 23.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 27.)

(No. 121.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 22, 1928.*

HAVING to visit Angora this week to attend an official ball given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I was able to have an interview with Tewfik Rushdi at his office, and another with Ismet Pasha at his house.

2. The last time that I saw the Minister for Foreign Affairs I had, as reported in my despatch No. 24 of the 12th January last, to express a certain dissatisfaction at his Excellency's treatment of our local questions. On the present occasion, although much remains to be settled, I was at least able to thank him for the activity of his Ministry. Otherwise, our conversation, as well as that with Ismet Pasha, was chiefly remarkable for the friendliness shown towards Great Britain. Both Tewfik Bey and Ismet Pasha expressed much pleasure, tinged, indeed, with [illegible] at the amicable development of our relations, and neither of them coupled their statements with a request for, or even hint at, some tangible recognition on our part of this happy state of affairs. I think, therefore, that one may take their satisfaction as, at all events for the moment, genuine. But I think, further, that it is our merit alone that has won these pleasing phrases from the President of the Council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Both statesmen admitted to me that they were having great difficulties over the Syrian frontier, and that they

reds did not know how to meet them. Ismet Pasha said that these colonial questions, for in effect mandatory territories were colonial, left Paris and London cold, but they were very critical at Angora, and both he and Tewfik Rushdi (I may express their thought colloquially) wished to goodness that our mandate extended over Syria. I do not myself consider, and probably His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq does so still less, that the Turco-Iraq frontier is such a bed of roses as it appears to be in the opinion of the Turkish Government, but it is at least gratifying to find that opinion held here, if only by force of contrast. But I have a suspicion that there is a certain deliberate exaggeration in this Turkish confusion of difficulties with their French neighbours. The Turks want rectification of the frontier from the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta so as to get the railway to Nisibin into Turkish territory all the way from Adana and I expect that they hope, by making as many difficulties as possible, to get set [illegible] general settlement. It may be of some interest to record here Tewfik Rushdi's reasons as given to me by his Excellency for rejecting the line laid down by General Ernst, the Danish president of the Franco-Turk Frontier Commission. His Excellency said that in the first place it had been laid down that the frontier should follow the "old road." Examination on the spot had shown that there was no old road and that there had never been one. There were only tracks wandering off into nowhere and dying away into nothing. Thereupon General Ernst had taken upon himself to say that such and such a line should be the frontier. Now it had nowhere been agreed upon that, in the event of the commission being unable to determine the frontier, the decision should be left to a neutral, on the contrary, it had been expressly laid down that it was for the Franco-Turkish Frontier Commission to settle the question. His attitude, therefore, was that the commission should have another try, and that, if they failed, Paris and Angora should discuss and settle among themselves. I incline to think that this is the Turkish interpretation of article 2 of the Franco-Turkish Convention of the 30th May, 1926, but it is the view held by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

3. Ismet Pasha devoted a good part of the time to the question which he invariably raises when I see him, namely the situation in the Balkans. He is evidently uneasy about Yugoslavia, and cannot make up his mind what line to adopt, and seeks in every quarter for light upon the problem. It may be that this is partly due to the suggestion of my Italian colleague, to whose interest it is to keep suspicion against Belgrade alive in Angora. The new Turkish Minister at Belgrade, Nusret Sadullu Bey, leaves for his post in a few days, and as he is a man of considerable European experience and more than average intelligence the Turkish Government may soon be in a position to form a clearer judgment on the situation.

4. As Mgr. Rotta, the delegate of the Holy See, happened to be in Angora I asked Tewfik Rushdi whether the Turkish Government were going to recognise him officially. His Excellency replied that nothing would be but the greatest respect for the Vatican, and regretted that as a European Power he was entirely precluded from any sort of official recognition of its representative owing to the strictly [illegible] nature of the Turkish Government. In religious matters the Government must walk along a straight and narrow line neither inclining to Islamism on the one hand nor to Christianity on the other. This was why, though he had no sympathy with the outcry against the alleged cases of conversion to the American School at Brusa (see my despatch No. 76 of the 1st February), he had been obliged to agree to the institution of the necessary disciplinary action involving the closing of the school.

5. The only [illegible] other interview of any desire for our financial help was in a statement which Tewfik Rushdi made to me to the effect that the Government had decided to devote no less than £T 250 million to the reclamation of marshes and waterlogged land and the elimination of malaria and other similar diseases. The question had been studied for years, and the results of these investigations had just come to hand. They showed that reclamation especially at the mouths of the various Turkish rivers would restore immensely valuable land to agriculture, and that nothing could at less cost more rapidly increase the material prosperity of the country. A railway might take three or more years to build, and then would not begin to pay for another ten or fifteen years. Marsh land could be reclaimed in one year and would begin to pay, and pay handsomely, the next. The idea therefore was to spend this £T 250 million over a period of twenty years, and it was confidently expected that at the end of ten years the expenditure would already

have been covered. Public announcement of various districts to be reclaimed and of the contracts to be put out for the purpose and their conditions would shortly be made, and Tewfik Rushdi hoped that British firms would be found ready to take their share in this lucrative development.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 1146/43/44] No. 24.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 5.)

(No. 123. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 25, 1928.*

HIS Majesty's Minister at Athens was good enough to send me direct a copy of his despatch to you No. 65 of the 18th February, reporting a recent article in the "Eleftheron Vema" on Greco-Turkish relations, and I observe that the editor of that paper is convinced that the Turkish Government are determined to expel all the Greeks from Constantinople and Eastern Thrace at all costs and to seize their property.

2. It seems possible that these fears were raised by the exalted leading article in the "République" of the 16th February,* wherein Yunus Nady directs a virulent attack upon Greece in connexion with the populations question. The gist of his article is that the endeavour to settle outstanding matters by friendly negotiation has perforce failed and that it is high time to resort to forcible measures to induce the Greek Government to respect the rights of Turkish nationals in Greece and henceforth to cease the oppression of Turks established in Western Thrace. Yunus Nady's suggestion is that all Greek real property in Turkey should be seized and the rents distributed among [illegible] Greek Turks, and that all homeless Turks, whether ex-Greek subjects or not, should be installed in Greek houses in Turkey. At the same time the Exchange Commission should be sent about its business.

3. The threat of seizing all Greek property in Turkey is, of course, an old one, and before reporting Yunus Nady's violent revival of it I wished to ascertain how far it might be the result of official inspiration. In a recent confidential conversation with the "Times" correspondent the Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that Turkey could not tolerate the present treatment of Turkish minorities in Greece and complained of the way the Greek Government constantly spread false news about Turkey in the European press and allowed Turkish political refugees to use Greek soil as a base from which to plot against the present Government. But he made no definite suggestion of any reprisals of the nature proposed by Yunus Nady, though he made it quite clear that he meant to have the whole £500,000 sterling which the Greek Government have ear-marked to make up a possible difference between Greek and Turkish claims. Subject to this, Tewfik Rushdi expressed his desire to be on good terms with Greece and his conviction that this was possible provided that the Greek Government did not indulge in any *arrière-pensées*, by which he presumably meant that Greece must not come to any understanding with Italy at Turkey's expense. Lastly, in answer to a direct question put by Mr. Collins in regard to certain articles which had recently appeared in the Turkish press, Tewfik Rushdi replied that he never read the Turkish papers and never received Turkish journalists.

4. In the light of this conversation it would, therefore, perhaps be going too far to attribute Yunus Nady's article to direct official inspiration. But I expect that that individual, who is as shrewd as he is unscrupulous, realised that it would not be unwelcome as a reinforcement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs' arguments, and feeling none too sure whether he may not find himself implicated in the revelations of the Ihsan Bey trial (see my despatch No. 57 of the 25th January last) hoped to win favour by beating the patriotic drum with more than usual vehemence. The intentions of the Turkish Government may be revealed more clearly when the new Greek Minister arrives in this country in event which is expected in a few days' time.

5. I transmit a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

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* Not printed.

[E 1289/43/44] No. 25

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 12.)

(No. 79. Confidential.)

HIS Majesty's Minister at Athens presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter from Captain Turle, head of the British Naval Mission, dated the 28th February, commenting on Captain Burke's letter of the 17th February to His Majesty's Ambassador, Constantinople, concerning Greek and Turkish naval situation.

Athens, March 1, 1928.

Enclosure in No. 25.

Captain Turle to Sir P. Loraine.

British Naval Mission, Ministry of Marine, Athens, February 28, 1928.

I HAVE the honour to forward the following remarks concerning the naval matters contained in the naval attaché's letter.

2. The maximum continuous seagoing speed of the "Yavouz" may perhaps not exceed 22 knots.

3. The Greek Naval Staff far from being hampered by the doctrine of "naval supremacy in the Ægean" regard it as their guiding light, and it is to be hoped that the nation will be equal to the task of supporting the Navy. The relative strength between Greece and Turkey is very favourable for the latter. Turkey could not with comparatively small forces to contest the control of the Ægean Sea, while she was in a position to contest this sea control [illegible] Greece could not resist if she was thinking of regaining some of her former lands.

4. I find myself in disagreement with [illegible] suggestion therein seems to be that the Greek maritime lines of communication [illegible] and that the only protection of the same is to be [illegible] and on the other hand by aircraft and submarine. But Greece's intention at present is only to use her fleet for protecting her routes in the narrow waters of the Ægean.

5. Thus the main problem, if Turkey has a capital ship, is to prevent the latter from operating in the Ægean Sea, the confined waters of this sea render it an area in which capital ships suffer from every disadvantage open to them.

6. They ought to be continuously located by day attacked by day by aircraft and submarines and perhaps [illegible] ships and at night Greek would be able to attack with destroyers and coastal motor boats whilst the minelayer [illegible] present.

7. The [illegible] "Yavouz" is to operate [illegible] Dardanelles she will require the security afforded by good reconnaissance with the addition of protection against light craft. Considering this very briefly it appears that the craft necessary to afford the "Yavouz" this protection will themselves be a serious menace to Greece and must be countered by Greece by other light craft.

8. Thus Greece by light craft can counter in the confined waters of the Ægean the enemy force of capital ships and light craft with more or [illegible] equal expenditure and it should be noted that capital ships as well as [illegible]

I have, &c.

CHARLES TURLE

Head of British Naval Mission.

[E 1291/43/44] No. 26

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 12.)

(No. 82.)

Sir, *Athens, March 2, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 65 of the 18th ultimo I have the honour to inform you that the papers of the 28th ultimo published a statement based upon information attributed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the effect that another Mixed Council would proceed to Angora on that day in order to draw up the Greek Government's reply to the latest Turkish proposals in connexion with the Greek properties in Turkey and the question of the "exchangeables."

2. The statement went on to say that the Greek Government would be able to propose to the Chamber an amendment of the existing agreement with Turkey, which would result in the qualification of nearly 20,000 Greeks of Constantinople as exchangeables, if only they could agree to pay in advance the amounts of £500,000 demanded by the Turks as a lump sum in settlement of the balance of debts alleged to exist in their favour, seeing that the valuation of the Greek and Turkish properties has not yet been completed and there is nothing to show that the balance may not [illegible] the other side. In fact, it is claimed that it becomes more and more [illegible] balance will be due from Turkey to Greece.

3. With regard to the proposal made by Turkey to suppress for sake of economy the Mixed Commission for the exchange of properties and the substitution of [illegible] the Greek Government is said to have [illegible] that [illegible] should be found and put into force [illegible] the value of the properties more rapid than the present.

4. The press comments more or less favourably on the attitude of the Government. "Eleftheros Logos" says that the Government's point of view corresponds fully with public opinion. Greece must insist on the enforcement of the agreements already made, since with the system of continual revision the question will never be terminated. There would be no objection to the suppression of the Mixed Commission but for the recent activities of Angora, and especially the violent [illegible] Turkish press. Let us take confidence in the good intentions and good [illegible] the Turks. But, now, the commission is the sole guarantee that the [illegible] between Greece and Turkey will ever be settled.

5. "Politeia" says that the Greek Government would not refuse all discussion on the proposal to set off the debts on each side one against the other, if the new Turkish proposals were modified in that part which respects the admission beforehand by Greece of the existence of a balance against her. The Greek Government can never take such an admission beforehand as it is by no means shown by the work so far done that the balance would be in favour of Turkey.

6. But the Greek reply to the proposal for the suppression of the Mixed Commission and that concerning the "établis" is just what it should be; no Greek Government could accept a proposal which will result in the departure of another 20,000 Greeks from Constantinople, nor would any Greek Chamber ratify such an agreement.

7. "Eleftheron Vema" hopes that the Greek Government will not be disappointed in their hopes of a settlement, but all depends upon the attitude of the Turkish Government. Greece is now for the last time attempting to arrive at an understanding with Turkey, and although she will welcome an agreement, she will with equal equanimity regard the failure of her endeavours.

8. "Ethnos" says that Greece asks nothing but the faithful application of the [illegible] between the two countries and is sure that if the Turkish Government prove [illegible] without the same sincere intentions, international arbitration, either by the League of Nations or by The Hague Tribunal, will render her justice.

A copy of this despatch has been sent to Constantinople, No. 5.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINE

[E 1285/255/44] No. 27

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 12.)

(No. 138.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of Adrianople despatch No. 7 dated the 1st March respecting Turkish refugees from Bulgaria.

Constantinople, March 6, 1928.

Enclosure in No. 27.

Consul Dawkins to Sir G. Clerk.

No. 7.

Sir, *Adrianople, March 1, 1928.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 4 of the 16th January last regarding the influx of Moslems from Bulgaria, I have the honour to report that, after a period of calm, the movement in question appears to have begun again, the local press reporting considerable arrivals.

2. I have asked the Vali to confirm the fact, which he does, but adding that apart from one or two large parties that have arrived, these people continue to cross over the frontier regularly at the rate of five or ten per day; and he added that he feared that much greater numbers would arrive in the spring.

3. The local news-sheet which I suppose can hardly be called independent publishes bitter complaints of the treatment meted out to [illegible] these Moslems in Bulgaria, and [illegible] have [illegible] there have been complaints about the way the Greeks treat the Moslems in Western Thrace; but always perhaps with the under-tone of that being about all one would expect. The feeling as against Bulgaria seems to be more one of surprised indignation.

4. As to the numbers who have come, the Greek consul, who told me that he had "followed the movement," and whom I take to be a competent and, in this case, very neutral observer, told me on the 1st January that he estimated the total arrivals up to date at 10,000; though this may be rather more than the truth. He also confirmed that the movement had stopped. I should gather that we are approaching that figure now, at any rate. He also considered that there had been some Turkish propaganda among these people with a view to repopulating Eastern Thrace. This may be so, though it seems perhaps likely that there has been on the whole, more "push" than "pull" to account for this movement.

5. I understand that the Turkish authorities hitherto have been able to provide bread and shelter for the necessitous on arrival; and that a sum of 7,000 or 8,000 liras is to be spent on providing them with seed and animals. But it seems a question what real effect such relief measures can have, and I should think it only too likely that the Thracian villages to which they are dispersed as soon as possible [illegible] much suffering.

I have, &c.

J. McL. DAWKINS.

W 2561/28/98] No. 28

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 14.)

(No. 5.)

(Telegraphic) *Angora, March 13, 1928.*

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs leaves for Geneva to-morrow, arriving 20th March.

His Excellency's views on disarmament, which he was good enough to give me [illegible] were hopeful and orthodox.

Speaking of Russian project, he said Turkey, owning none, would not worry over [illegible] to suppress factories of war material, but she would certainly not accept any proposal to abolish army, which she did possess.

He repeatedly expressed his gratitude for British support of invitation to Turkey.

[E 1447/128/44] No. 29.

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 19.)

(No. 149.)

Sir, *Angora, March 12, 1928.*

IN his despatch No. 57 of the 26th January Sir G. Clerk reported on the preliminary examination by a commission of enquiry of the charges of corruption brought against Ihsan Bey, the ex-Minister of Marine. The next stage in the proceedings was reached when on the 20th January the National Assembly was called upon to vote the raising of Ihsan Bey's parliamentary immunity and his trial by a special High Court. The debate was followed with intense interest. Ihsan Bey, instead of making, as was hoped and expected by his friends, a brief statement of submission to the will of the Assembly and the justice of his country, embarked on an elaborate and frequently vituperative speech for the defence. This gave to Ismet Pasha the opportunity for a vigorous denunciation of corruption in general and, in particular, of the ex-Minister at the bar. Any incongruity there might be in such an address to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey passed unnoticed, and the speech was a marked personal triumph for the Prime Minister.

2. The High Court, consisting of senior judges and members of the Council of State, was duly constituted and the prosecution opened on the 9th February last. Since then the court has sat daily until a halt has now been called to allow for the taking of further evidence on commission in Paris. Besides Deputies and private individuals, the Prime Minister, the entire Cabinet and most of the staff of the Ministry of Marine have been called as witnesses. Proceedings have been reported [illegible] throughout the press and public interest is unquenched. To follow the [illegible] intricacies of the case and to estimate the degree of Ihsan Bey's culpability through the fog of Turkish procedure and press reporting is beyond the capacity of a European mind. These, however, are matters of minor importance, since it is probable that in ex-Minister [illegible] has allowed himself to imply in the Assembly that there are black sheep among its members and that all is not for the best in the best of all possible [illegible] this stage already judged and condemned. The case is lacking, too, in that [illegible] interest which is only kept alive by some appearance of a fair fight. Here there is too much prosecution, too little trial.

3. Ihsan Bey himself is not a sympathetic figure. Whether his offences are worse than those of 90 per cent of his colleagues or not, there is little doubt that he will have amply merited any punishment he may receive. The interest of his case lies elsewhere. It marks a stage in the evolution of Turkey, and its ultimate reactions on the internal politics of the country will, in no event, be negligible. It is therefore perhaps worth while to undertake some examination of the tangle of its origin as seen from Angora. It is inevitable that in such a matter the views of Constantinople and Angora should show some cleavage, and it is difficult to strike a completely impartial line. Such observations as I have to offer are thus put forward as local impressions "non pour établir la verité, mais pour la chercher."

4. It is especially noteworthy that here there appears to be nothing fortuitous in the genesis of the affair. It bears, throughout both its ostensible and its, perhaps more genuine, political development, the well-mark of Mustafa Kemal's deliberate inspiration. The explanation of all that is openly admitted is simple enough. Corruption in every branch of public life in Turkey has for some time past attained such notoriety both at home and abroad as to cause uneasiness to the President himself and to some of his immediate circle, who see a menace to their schemes of economic development in the distrust thus inspired in financial circles abroad, and a threat to internal stability in the growing conviction of the peasant that the Deputies whom he is presumed to elect assemble at Angora with no other object than to plunder the State.

5. The first step in the purifying process was taken in September at the time of the general election, by the issue of a presidential decree ordaining that Deputies could in future hold no office in public companies. This was followed in October by the President's announcement to the congress of the People's party that he had [illegible] his private property to the nation: an anodyne gesture, perhaps, but one that has at all events cleared the ground for whatever measures he might feel called upon to take against the delinquents without the risk of a not altogether undeserved *tu quoque*. The choice of Ihsan Bey as first victim or general scapegoat is, all things considered, natural enough. The Minister of Marine was no less notorious for corruption than any of his colleagues; the charges against him touched on a historic object

particularly dear to patriotic sentiment—the only battle-cruiser of the Ægean—and embraced, besides the everyday offence of corruption, the more sinister crime of a breach of Cabinet etiquette. Furthermore, an impression of impartial severity was enhanced by choosing as an example one who had long been a close friend of the President. It would indeed have been difficult to find another victim offering the same advantages for purposes of publicity both at home and abroad.

6. Such considerations would perhaps suffice to explain the enactment in other countries. Not so in Turkey. Here they have certainly played their ostensible part, but side by side exist other motives of a more purely political nature. To embark on any attempt to assess these is necessarily to enter an uncharted wilderness of oriental intrigue in which I can find but one cardinal point—the fixity of aim that governs the President's efforts to direct his country in the way of a "return to normality." This phase was prefaced two years ago by a generally successful endeavour to place Turkey's foreign relations on a rational footing. The ground once cleared in this manner, the drastic elimination of what was left of the former parliamentary Opposition speedily followed. The lesson was so energetically applied that within six months the Government was able to dissolve the Independence Tribunals which had [illegible] the main prop of the régime. This measure meant a serious loss of prestige for Ali Bey and his fellow-Deputies and their impatience at the failure of the Government to find for them some [illegible] posts has led them to show some visible resentment. A further blow was dealt to their political ideals by the abrogation of martial law in the eastern vilayets last autumn, and to their personal interests by the refusal of the portfolio of the Interior to Ali Bey.

7. The arrest and trial of Ihsan Bey, an earlier head of the Constantinople Independence Tribunal and a close associate of Ali Bey, in all probability [illegible] that the President of the Republic has now decided that the deputies have served their turn, and that the moment has arrived in the evolution of a more [illegible] State when they may, after the manner of their kind, be finally discarded. Every indication has tended to show that the differences between Ali Bey and the President [illegible] become an open breach, and I have been assured by one of the President's immediate entourage that he is now irremediably excluded from the [illegible]. It was a little startling to find that at a ball recently given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at which the President was present, Ali Bey was among the guests, and still more so to see him a few days later seated for several hours beside the [illegible] in easy and [illegible] conversation. The westernisation of Turkey has not modified [illegible] and a certain dissimulation in such matters, and the European observer's wisest course is to wonder but draw no conclusions. For my own part, I have renounced any attempt to judge the wind from such straws since one evening on entering the club I found [illegible], a close associate of Ihsan Bey, whose [illegible] had been [illegible] and whose arrest was [illegible] by an [illegible] passing a [illegible] with the Minister of the Interior. During this, his last evening of liberty, he was even [illegible] by his fellow-Deputies to a fire of [illegible] scarcely reminiscent of that thrown at a schoolboy called up for a caning.

8. In such an atmosphere it is impossible to gauge political reactions with any conviction. A recent brief visit to Constantinople sufficed to convince me that in Angora one tended rather to underrate the strength of the currents that are running there, and I was astonished to find with what openness and circumstantial detail opposition is being ventilated in the most diverse circles. I had the opportunity to discuss this with Sir G. Clerk before his departure. His views, which I entirely shared, were that the Angora *cause célèbre* had naturally loosened tongues and given air to the many grievances which are nursed in Constantinople, but that, so long as nothing untoward happened to the President and the army remained loyal, the stability of the régime was not in any danger.

9. Since my return to Angora I feel that the prevailing *malaise* is less transitory than I had at first believed. Last night Fahh Rifki Bey, one of the President's closest friends and perhaps the most energetic supporter of his policy, unburdened himself to Mr. Helm and myself without reticence, for the first time in nearly two years' intimate acquaintance, on the subject of the internal situation. He showed us that temporarily, at least, the forces let loose over the Ishan affair had got out of control. That afternoon in the Assembly charges of peculation some four years old were brought up against Ali Jenani Bey, the then Minister of Commerce. He, Safvet Bey and the rest of the Ghazi's immediate group had endeavoured to save him by proposing that the affair should be examined by the Government instead of by a commission of the

Chamber, but could get no hearing. The picture he drew was of a strong caucus which was constituting itself into a kind of "Tribunal de Salut public" and crying for more victims. The Ghazi and Ismet Pasha had taken up so definite a line over the Ihsan affair that it was now impossible for them to draw back; the former had been unable to save his friend and old companion of arms, Fikret Bey, who was now in the dock with Ihsan, and would be equally unable to save Ali Jenani. He did not attempt to conceal that in his view the present phase was entirely political and would have to end in the final elimination of the dacolytes and the gang.

10. The existence thus disclosed of a possible nucleus of a new Opposition in the Chamber is interesting. Of what precisely it consists or what its doctrines, if any, may be is not yet clear, but it is evident that the life of the present Parliament, which for the last two months has been indulging in an unwonted freedom of speech, will not be so monotonous as might have been expected from the election of 315 Deputies with only one dissentient vote. The role of the President in this particular development is also obscure, and it is to be assumed that even his intimates have not yet been initiated. It is possible that he is merely giving to any undesirable elements enough rope to hang themselves, and that at the chosen moment he will come down into the arena. He may, again, be sure enough of his own position to allow an [illegible] with that parliamentary luxury, a tame Opposition. It is even conceivable, though not [illegible], that he has [illegible] surprise.

All this [illegible] more than empty speculations. What does emerge in concrete form from the Ihsan affair is that many Deputies tarred with the same brush feel that zeal is the best cloak for guilt and are actively searching for fresh victims. Fortunately the field is limited, since it is generally understood that the Chief of the Staff, Fevzi Pasha, the heaviest weight in Turkey after the President, has let it be known that he will tolerate no prying into the secrets of military supplies—the most fertile source of perquisites. Envy and private rancour naturally lie at the back of much of this zeal and create further animosities. Men of milder spirit are no doubt, asking themselves whether the life of a Deputy on this Asiatic dustheap is really worth while, when the only assets left to the profession are a modest stipend and a moral halo. Houses that had been built in anticipation of years of prosperity are now [illegible], the night restaurant of Angora, formerly haunted by the leaders of politics is closing for lack of clients, since no one will risk inconvenient enquiries as to where he got the price of a bottle of champagne. In fact, an unconvivial doctrine of *sustine et abstine* is being not only preached but practised. The rancours inevitably provoked by such a situation are stifled here, but they come to the surface in Constantinople and are welcomed by all those to whom the republic has brought disillusionment or discontent.

12. One cannot blink the fact that there are disquieting elements in such a state of affairs. On the other side, the direction of the country lies in the hands of a man who has shown himself hitherto remarkably well qualified to govern it. He has guided events up to this point with his eyes open. There is, to my mind, no ground to suppose that, barring accidents (a saving clause that must always be understood in this country), he will not master the situation with as complete success as in the [illegible] difficult tasks of the suppression of the Caliphate, the abolition of the fez and the hanging of Javid Bey.

I have, &c.
G. G. KNOX

E 1467/249/89] No. 30

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(*Received March 20.*)

(No. 150.)

Sir, *Angora, March 7, 1928.*

IN the course of conversation last night, the Minister for Foreign Affairs was good enough to give me at some length his views on the subject of disarmament and security. The former he felt to be a desirable end, if sought with moderation in a spirit of reality. The latter was for Turkey indispensable, but it was not in his view to be found through [illegible] treaties, for which he had a grave distrust. He went with some anxiety the present grouping in South-Eastern Europe, where the younger States that had made good and come to some maturity were gravitating towards France and the malcontents towards Italy. These developments confirmed

him in his administration of British foreign policy, which accepted the inevitable commitments of Locarno but refused to tie itself elsewhere. Turkey, at the opposite pole of Europe was making for herself an insular situation comparable, on her minor stage, to that of England and adding for a short while exceptional force to her, in the present state of Europe, if Balkan Locarno would be out of the question.

2. Mr. Ruschdi went in his conversation with me made no allusion to his major preoccupation, the Syrian frontier. He had, however, earlier in the evening discussed the question fully with the late Chargé d'Affaires. He told Sabri Bey that the Turkish Government was resolved to accept no diminution of that frontier and to oppose by force any attempt to detach part of it for the benefit of the Mosul Agreement. He urged Sabri Bey to impress upon the Syrian and French authorities the expediency of their abandoning their policy of "regardless" and of Fait accompli in the matter of Alexandretta. We then went on to discuss Turkey's policy in the event of the League of Nations failing to settle the present dispute and there arising war between Great Britain and Turkey. Mr. Ruschdi was evidently of opinion that Turkey would rather have to do with Great Britain than a fully independent State and that the Turkish Government would be glad to [illegible] Persia and Arabia.

3. In the course of conversation Mr. Ruschdi mentioned that the Turkish Government had received from the Soviet Government a request for the extradition of Ismail Bey Gasprinski, a Turkish subject who had taken refuge in Poland. He had replied that the Turkish Government could not entertain the request, as Ismail Bey was a political refugee. The Soviet Government had then asked that Ismail Bey should be expelled from Poland. The Turkish Government had refused to do this, as Ismail Bey had committed no offence against the laws of Poland. The Soviet Government had then asked that Ismail Bey should be expelled from Poland on the ground that he was a political refugee. The Turkish Government had refused to do this, as Ismail Bey had committed no offence against the laws of Poland. The Soviet Government had then asked that Ismail Bey should be expelled from Poland on the ground that he was a political refugee. The Turkish Government had refused to do this, as Ismail Bey had committed no offence against the laws of Poland.

I have &c.
G. H. KNOX

E 1578 560 44 — No. 31

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (*Received March 20.*)

(No. 177)

Sir, *Angora, March 18, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch, No. 17 of the 1st March, which I have received from His Majesty's consul at Mersina regarding the port facilities at that port.

2. As this activity is not at present reflected in the statistics of the exports of Angora's market, it is felt at Mersina that the oppression of non-Turkish commercial interests is the crux of the matter. Mr. Chafy observes in the need of capital and new roads. I read this with interest, but promise comments on this subject.

3. I would wish to call attention to the closing sentences of Mr. Chafy's despatch in which he states that the French and Italian consulates are doing their utmost to goad the Turkish authorities to corrupt and barbarous practices. Such an attitude is not calculated to further the interests of Mersina. I shall be much obliged if you will be good enough to bring the facts mentioned in the despatch under the notice of the Levant Consular Authorities, with a view to their taking such steps as they may think fit to put an end to this unfortunate state of affairs.

I have, &c.
G. H. KNOX

Enclosure in No. 31.

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk.

No. 17.)

Sir, *Mersina, March 1, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report the progress which I have observed on return to Mersina after long leave of absence and to give my impressions of the general situation down here.

2. *Changes of Officials and Better Weather Prospects.* As already reported, a new Vali, a Mutessarif and a Director of Finance are in charge of the affairs of the Province, the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Ismail Hakki, has been promoted for appreciable [illegible] and the Commander of Gendarmerie has been transferred to Adana. The Commander of Police, Mr. Ismail Hakki, has been promoted for appreciable [illegible] and the Commander of Gendarmerie has been transferred to Adana. The Commander of Police, Mr. Ismail Hakki, has been promoted for appreciable [illegible] and the Commander of Gendarmerie has been transferred to Adana.

3. *New Cabs.* In his despatch No. 1 of the 1st November last, Mr. Watkinson reported the opening of the "Omnibus" cab stand at Mersina. This institution, which forms another "mostra" to the Republic's premature boast of a large building activity all down the coast, ended with the Vali's own cab. The Vali's own cab was formerly the only one of the wealthy Greek families in the place. Mr. Martin Leake, in his despatch No. 2 of the 15th January last, has described the new Commercial Code as revised and put into force on the 1st of January, 1928. This Code, which, along with the Civil Code, exists only in Turkish, is to be translated into French and published by the Government. The Code is a very long and complicated document, and it is to be hoped that the translation will be made as soon as possible. The Code is a very long and complicated document, and it is to be hoped that the translation will be made as soon as possible.

4. *Mersina Steamship Service.* The Inspector-General, Mr. Martin Leake, in his despatch No. 2 of the 15th January last, has described the new Commercial Code as revised and put into force on the 1st of January, 1928. This Code, which, along with the Civil Code, exists only in Turkish, is to be translated into French and published by the Government. The Code is a very long and complicated document, and it is to be hoped that the translation will be made as soon as possible. The Code is a very long and complicated document, and it is to be hoped that the translation will be made as soon as possible.

Yakoub Effendi and a row of khodjas sit chuckling in their booths to watch the busy doings of the "Alemans." I have not myself seen much of the "Aleman" side of this combination, and can only hope that further hagglings and perversities of the municipality will not stay their operations. It is also to be hoped that the contractors, who have happily cut out of the original scheme such grandiosities as casinos, thermal establishments and other accessories to a Cheram Lido, will carry on with the ex-mayor's excellent beginnings of high raised pavements, tree-shaded roads and seaside plantations. These amenities with, as Mr. Leake suggests, some boating away of the [illegible] would transform the plage would [illegible] make Mersina a more attractive place, at least for a tourist to take a walk in.

5. *Installation of Public Telephone Service.*—Another recent [illegible] the installation of telephones for public use. The service and instruments used are not perfect, but it is now possible to carry on conversations between Mersina and Adana and business men and their business much facilitated.

6. *Electric Lighting.*—Mersina has been electrically lit for some time. The present plant is proving insufficient for the town's growing needs and will probably be enlarged. There are only private lighting sets at Adana, and active discussions are in progress there with Franis offering to exploit a public plant.

7. *Keller Dirdekir Railway.*—The operations of the company constructing the above will add to the activities of Mersina. They are at present erecting a pier and plant to deal with the large quantities of material expected to be shipped to this port and sent up by rail.

8. *Observations on General Situation.* My impressions are that the Adana Mersina district [illegible] most difficult crisis of its transition, both [illegible] no material, from the [illegible] of actual decay, with which it was at one time threatened, has been arrested and that progress is being made. Materially the district cannot be said to have regained the state of prosperity which it had attained in 1914 before the capital, brains, industry and man-power of the Greek and Armenian populations were removed; but, given the present driving power and the general improvements of modern science, with special reference to existing and projected railway communications, it should, if the tide of xenophobia is on the ebb, foreign enterprise is encouraged and the unfortunate local Syrian-Christian elements are not driven away from Mersina from now onwards go fairly rapidly ahead. Business men agree that the whole region is so full of material possibilities that Mersina, with its geographical position and given any form of stable administration must have a prosperous future. [illegible] I propose to submit with my next more details under it is hoped in the form of a consular report. I think that in many respects a happier feeling is abroad. I encountered [illegible] the majority of the population here are pro-British, so far as they care appear to be pro-anything. They are most cordially anti-French. The French consulate seems now to be less active. The French and Italian consuls here do nothing to cultivate good relations with the [illegible] and [illegible] incorrigible barbarians. One cannot help feeling sometimes that they deserve all they get in the way of obstruction or annoyance. In this connexion it is important to notice that the Germans, though no special lovers of the Turks, do not take this attitude towards them and are quietly getting a good deal of employment in the country.

I have, &c.
R. E. W. CHAFY.

E 1853/16/44] No. 32

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received April 10)

(No. 174) (Extract)

Sir, *Angora, March 30, 1928*

"As to my observations on the general situation which you were good enough to [illegible] these with diffidence and with the necessary [illegible] this point views formed in Constantinople and in Angora must show a considerable divergence. Here one sees the policy of the Turkish Government rather than [illegible] application one meets from time to time only such representatives of the foreign

business world as the directors of the Ottoman Bank and the heads of some of the larger British and foreign enterprises in the country. These in general take a sober view, they tell me that business is bad and the Turks difficult, but they by no means despair of the future and are far from holding the pessimistic opinion of the Italian Embassy. On the other hand, I have no contact with shipping interests nor with the large hybrid element that forms the backbone of foreign trade in Constantinople. Perhaps the Olympian aloofness of Angora will suffice to excuse the suspicion that something of the gloomier colours in which the situation is painted, as in the Italian note, comes from a characteristic defect of the Levantine—a tendency to deduce his facts from a lively, and often, spontaneous anticipation of evils to come.

8. Another factor which perhaps unduly influences my views is that I was in Turkey at the time of the negotiation and signature of the Treaty of Lausanne. The general outcry at "the complete surrender of our indispensable safeguards" had a considerable echo in my own inner conscience, and I returned to Turkey two years ago still armed with the prejudices that I had brought away. I quickly found that, although our commercial communities were submitted to an infinity of petty vexations and the economic prospects of the country had in many domains been seriously prejudiced by gross mishandling on the part of the Government, the general situation of foreign interests was far from being as desperate as they—or I—had anticipated three years before. Subsequent experience has reinforced this new impression. A year ago in reporting on internal conditions in Turkey I stated that "xenophobia is undoubtedly on the wane and the rulers of Turkey tend to look on the foreigner no longer so much as a designing invader as a useful, almost a necessary milch cow." I still hold this view and I believe that the acute nationalism which in the past made itself felt by constant pressure is now manifested only in periodical waves: in my opinion a good symptom. I have also the very definite impression that the particular wave which provoked the present hue and cry is already well receding.

9. At the same time, the lot of the foreign trader in Turkey is still very far from being an enviable one. The Turk is more often than not a bully bursting with new-found patriotism and innate self-satisfaction. His oppression in economic affairs is reinforced by extreme inefficiency, though, it must be admitted, in certain respects, notably [illegible] his public security and railway management he has shown an undreamed of capacity; above all he has a fixed determination to squeeze out by fair means or foul a Greek minority which he believes to constitute a grave political menace and he does not care overmuch on whose toes he may tread in the process.

10. This said, I may perhaps make bold to observe that some members of the foreign trading community and particularly among its Levantine elements have not always shown all the adaptability and good sense that they might in appreciating the extent of the change that Turkey has undergone. The days of the "Merchant Princes of the Levant" are over for good and all. The foreign trader has had definitely to renounce the privileged position which he enjoyed in the past and to resign himself to competition, under handicap, with the native of the country; for we may be sure that, whatever treaty safeguards we now enjoy or may in the future secure, the Turkish trader will always be the object of the particular solicitude of his Government. From those who have digested this essential fact we receive few, if any, complaints. They have compromised with Mammon and, if they do not, for the moment, prosper, at least they maintain themselves. However uncomplimentary to our profession, it is nevertheless a fact that this class, to my mind by far the soundest and most valuable, dreads diplomatic intervention more than all the nationalism of the Turk. Their fears are perhaps justified, but they make our task all the more difficult in that they often preclude the possibility of obtaining from the rare reliable sources in this country the necessary established facts on which to base our action.

11. The avowed policy of the Turkish Government is to do all in their power to encourage foreign enterprise simultaneously with a vigorous fostering of Turkish economic development and the commercial education of the Turk eventually destined to take the foreigner's place. Some of the leaders perhaps even believe that they are in fact carrying out this programme in spite of the abundant sops that they have to throw to the chauvinism or greed of their followers at every step. With the Minister for Foreign Affairs we have found more realism. Tewfik Rushdi Bey invariably asserts that whenever he is presented with a sound legal case, based on the letter of the treaty, he will bow to it. Experience in this respect has not, in fact,

been too discouraging, as, for instance, in the recent case of insurance agents, who could claim the benefit of the Establishment Convention. It should of course be understood that departmental inefficiency is unbounded and that often, after the Government itself has seen, convicted one has to submit to a host of delays and chicaneries before satisfaction is received. Occasionally, with the same reserve, a plea of expediency and mutual advantage may be usefully employed, but, in the present phase, to advance arguments based only on equity is still little more than waste of breath

12. To sum up the conclusions reached in this inordinately long despatch: I can find but little difference between the active nationalism of Turkey and that of most of the new-born or revolutionary States of Europe, when due allowance is made for complete inexperience, a very recent release from the fetters of the Capitulations and a particularly acute minority problem. I see no ground to despair of the future. For the last two years the Turkish Government in the broader aspects of their foreign policy have given proof of a considerable and increasing allowance of good sense. It is surely not too ingenuous to hope that the play of inexorable economic forces will in this domain also bring them gradually to their senses. Our contribution towards this result, so far as general tendencies are concerned, should not, I think, go beyond tactful and well-placed remonstrance and advice. It is I admit a very debatable point, but to me the Turk of to-day is essentially an animal of tricky temper that is best ridden gently on the snaffle and without whip or spur

13. As to the cases that arise of violation of our treaty rights, my view of the procedure to be followed is that we should first, with great care, establish the facts (by no means an easy task for reasons stated above); we should then submit them to proper legal examination and once a good case is made out press it with firmness. With the experience we have had of international collaboration in Turkey since the war I would for my own part prefer to avoid this, or at least decline to embark on it without the adhesion of Germany, which, in view of her large and varied commitments in the country, would probably have the same result. It would be only in the event of such procedure resulting in a clear denial of justice by the Turkish Government—a contingency which I venture to believe improbable—that we would have to contemplate reference to a higher tribunal. I would add that one of the most cogent arguments which occurs to me against any such reference, but which I did not put before the Italian Ambassador, is that it would seem to be inappropriate to submit to The Hague Tribunal or to the League of Nations an article of a convention which by the time a decision had been reached, would itself be on the point of expiry. A finding in our favour could in such circumstances only militate against the insertion of similar provisions in the future instrument to be negotiated

I have, &c.
G. G. KNOX

[E 1856/16/44] No. 37

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (Received April 10)

(No. 177.)

Sir, *Angora, March 31, 1928.*

I HAD the honour, in replying to the questions raised in your despatch No. 185 of the 19th March regarding the treatment of foreign commercial interests in Turkey, to state that I would defer to a subsequent occasion the consideration of the expediency of invoking in this connexion the minorities clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne. As reported in the despatch under reference, I do not, for my part, believe that it is the intention of the rulers of Turkey deliberately to attempt to stamp out foreign enterprise in their country; that they may do it considerable damage in the course of clumsy efforts to enrich a hated minority is, however, an ever-present possibility. Correspondingly, I do not feel that a convincing case, either in law or on grounds of expediency, has yet been made out for overstepping the ordinary bounds of direct diplomatic action in the matter of restrictions imposed on foreign commerce, but I am of opinion that on a strictly legal basis a good case could be set up for action on behalf of the minorities under article 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne, for it is, I fear, only too true that ever since the entry into force of that instrument the Turkish Government

have shown a constant disregard of their obligations towards the non-Moslem citizens of the republic. It is the belief that there is no juridical impediment to the invocation of the minorities clauses and the certitude that the question will again be raised from time to time in the future that impel me to put forward at some length what appear to me to be the major political objections to such a course.

2. In examining the advisability of invoking these clauses, we have first to take into account the intention underlying them. They were clearly designed not for the protection of foreign commercial interests, but for that of the minorities, and could only be invoked with fitness and dignity if they were based on the humanitarian considerations which inspire this section of the treaty. Article 44 provides for no consultation of the interested parties, but their clearly signified consent would, in fact, be indispensable in order to avoid ultimate responsibility for the grave risks which such action would probably entail for the minorities themselves. The possibility that the consent of the three main groups constituting the minorities would in present circumstances be given can be summarily dismissed.

3. Even leaving aside these considerations, to summon Turkey with all the solemnity of article 44 to the Bar of the League for so high humanitarian motive but, as will inevitably transpire in debate, because we had reason to believe that our traders were suffering loss through the forced dismissal of some non-Moslem employees, would, to my mind, border on the ridiculous. So much ado for the delivery of so small a case would redound neither to our own prestige nor to that of the League. Moreover, it is highly probable that we would be jockeyed by our less scrupulous partners and our own public opinion into the position of chief plaintiff, thus incurring the lasting resentment of the Turks, to the commercial and political advantage of our main rivals in either field, Germany and Russia. I am thus definitely of opinion that we have everything to lose and nothing to gain from any attempt to invoke the minorities clauses in favour of foreign commercial interests.

4. The discussion for more valid and convincing grounds would, I think, be delayed, but the treatment of the minorities became so scandalous as to force our hand. The wider political aspects of this question are now, four years after the entry into force of the Treaty of Lausanne, beginning to appear in what may well prove to be their true proportions. Each of the three main groups into which the minorities are divided is in a somewhat different case. The Jews in Turkey are not, and have never been, the object of any rooted animosity. They are suffering, like the foreigner in general, from the periodical waves of nationalism that sweep over this country, but these native suppleness and the play of natural economic forces will in all probability gradually restore them to their former position. The Armenians, too, are adaptable; as the small number that survives in Turkey they present no political menace, they have no claim to Constantinople as their historic home, and, with their tradition of successful emigration, if once they find that they can no longer make an adequate living in Turkey, they will, without much difficulty, uproot themselves and seek fortune elsewhere. The irreducible element is the Greek.

5. The Exchange Convention and the minorities clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne tried to perpetuate and to concentrate at a most delicate point the age-old problem of Hellenism opposite barbarian lands. If one strips the problem of its historical accretions and attributes and study it as one of pure politics, it is questionable whether Greece, Turkey and international peace itself do not stand equally to lose by the perpetuation of a Greek irredenta at Constantinople. Reconciliation is, in the highest degree, unlikely. Mutual dislike and mutual memories are too profound, and the Turk hides his determination to evict the Rayah as little as the latter his contempt for his barbarian overlord. It is certain that, so long as the present regime may continue, the Turk will not relax his efforts to squeeze out this unassimilable element.

6. It seems to me that the problem, thus presented, is one of those of profound national significance to which treaties can only contribute a temporary palliative. It is comparable, in its minor sphere and minor reactions, to those of Upper Silesia, the Polish Corridor and the "Anschluss," which, I believe it to be the view of His Majesty's Government, can only find an ultimate solution if left, undisturbed, to the operation of time and natural forces.

I have, &c.
G. G. KNOX

[E 1841/43/44] No. 34

Papers communicated to Mr. Cadogan by Sir E. Drummond.—(Received in Foreign Office, April 10.)

(1)

M. Colban to Sir E. Drummond.

(Confidentiel.)

Secrétaire général,

J'ai eu hier soir une longue conversation avec le Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Turquie, Dr. Tevfik Rouschdy Bey. Dans cette conversation, il a parlé surtout des questions suivantes:

1. *L'Entrée de la Turquie dans la Société des Nations.*—Le Dr. Rouschdy m'a déclaré que, l'affaire de Mossoul étant maintenant complètement liquidée, il ne reste aucune amertume chez les Turcs—tout au contraire, les relations entre la Turquie et l'Empire britannique étaient maintenant excellentes. L'opinion publique en Turquie se développait favorablement vis-à-vis de la Société des Nations. Cette opinion est toutefois, toujours divisée et il faudrait l'influencer en faveur de la Société des Nations par une démarche analogue à celle qui venait d'être prise auprès du Gouvernement du Brésil. Le Dr. Rouschdy n'a pas précisé ce point, mais j'ai cru comprendre que ce serait le désir que lors de la prochaine Assemblée un désir fut exprimé de voir la Turquie entrer dans la Société des Nations.

Le Dr. Rouschdy dans cette connexion a touché aussi la question d'un siège au Conseil. Il a dit que, naturellement, la Turquie se contenterait d'un siège non permanent, laissant à l'avenir de décider si la collaboration de la Turquie allait se présenter comme suffisamment intéressante pour la Société des Nations pour justifier le maintien de la Turquie dans le Conseil. Le Dr. Rouschdy s'est référé à un bruit de presse à l'effet que la Grande-Bretagne allait opposer à la candidature turque celle de la Perse. Le Dr. Rouschdy considérait ce bruit comme complètement erroné.

2. *La Collaboration de la Turquie dans les différents Travaux de la Société des Nations avant son Entrée comme Membre.*—A ce sujet, le Dr. Rouschdy a fortement insisté que son Gouvernement était prêt à collaborer dans toutes les activités de la Société des Nations. C'était dans cet esprit que son Gouvernement avait accepté avec empressement l'invitation qui lui avait été adressée par le Conseil de prendre place dans la Commission préparatoire du Désarmement.

3. *L'Attitude du Gouvernement de la République turque vis-à-vis du Problème du Desarmement.*—Le Dr. Rouschdy s'est référé à son discours dans la Commission préparatoire et a souligné l'importance de l'insertion dans les traités de non-agression et des pactes régionaux d'une clause relative au respect pour les frontières existantes. A son avis, la difficile question de la définition de l'"agression" trouverait une solution plus facile si le respect de la frontière était expressément stipulé dans les traités. (Je cite les paroles du Dr. Rouschdy sans exprimer une opinion sur la force de ses arguments.) Il était aussi nécessaire ou, en tout cas, très désirable d'avoir un système élaboré de zones démilitarisées. Pour lui, c'était du côté de l'arbitrage et de la sécurité que la Société des Nations pouvait faire un travail particulièrement utile. Il semblait ne pas avoir les mêmes espoirs et peut-être ne pas attacher la même importance aux travaux du désarmement.

Le Dr. Rouschdy avait eu avant-hier soir une conversation avec M. Litvinoff et a cette occasion M. Litvinoff lui avait promis—sauf l'approbation de son Gouvernement—de venir comme observateur à la prochaine session du Comité d'Arbitrage et de la Sécurité, à condition que le Dr. Rouschdy s'y rende également. Le Dr. Rouschdy m'a donné l'impression très nette que c'était son intention de venir en personne, ceci entraînant l'arrivée de M. Litvinoff. Il a, toutefois, ajouté que M. Litvinoff, qui représentait l'aile modérée du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S., allait probablement trouver certaines difficultés à Moscou. Cependant, le Dr. Rouschdy croyait qu'il possédait lui-même (Rouschdy) suffisamment la confiance de MM. Staline et Tchitcherine pour les amener, le cas échéant, à donner leur consentement à la collaboration de M. Litvinoff, à titre d'observateur, dans le Comité d'Arbitrage et de Sécurité.

Dans sa conversation avec M. Litvinoff, le Dr. Rouschdy avait aussi touché la question du deuxième projet soviétique (relatif à la réduction et non pas à l'abolition complète des armements). Il avait trouvé que M. Litvinoff avait une bonne volonté de

compromis et, personnellement, le Dr. Rouschdy ne désespérait pas du tout de la possibilité de trouver une formule qui pourrait donner satisfaction et aux Russes et aux autres membres de la Commission préparatoire. Toutefois, comme je l'ai dit ci-dessus, le Dr. Rouschdy m'a fait l'impression de ne pas attacher autant d'importance à la question du désarmement propre qu'à la question d'arbitrage et de sécurité. Je dois dire quand même que peut-être à ce sujet mon impression est-elle erronée.

4. *L'Entrée éventuelle de la Russie dans la Société des Nations.*—Le Dr. Rouschdy estime que l'entrée de la Turquie dans la Société des Nations devrait avoir une importance considérable pour l'entrée éventuelle de la Russie. Il croyait pour son compte que la Russie serait prête à entrer dans la Société des Nations dans un temps relativement rapproché, à savoir donc dans quelques années—deux, trois ou quatre. Naturellement, il ne pouvait pas avoir une idée très nette à ce sujet.

5. *La Commission mixte d'Échange des Populations grecques et turques.* Le Dr. Rouschdy a dit qu'il allait en interpeller Briand pour se rencontrer avec le Ministre de Grèce, avec qui il allait s'entretenir entre autres de cette question. Il était d'avis que l'heure était maintenant venue de dissoudre la commission. Ceci serait fait d'accord commun entre les deux Gouvernements, toutefois, il était d'avis que la commission elle-même devrait être saisie de cet accord et invitée à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour cette dissolution. Le Dr. Rouschdy était très désireux de ne rien faire qui pourrait impliquer un mécontentement quelconque avec la commission: la Turquie aurait besoin à l'avenir de la collaboration des experts et des commissions internationaux et était intéressée à ce que le prestige de tels organes soit maintenu.

6. *La Situation économique et financière de la Turquie.*—Le Dr. Rouschdy s'est exprimé avec beaucoup de satisfaction au sujet de l'effort fait jusqu'ici par le peuple turc pour s'adapter à sa nouvelle situation et avait beaucoup de confiance dans l'avenir. Environ 500 kilom. de chemins de fer avaient été construits chaque année sans qu'il fut nécessaire à recourir à un emprunt. Le peuple turc travaillait très sérieusement. Le pays, qui sur le moment comptait quelque 15 millions d'habitants, augmentait rapidement. Le pays recevait une immigration considérable de Turcs des pays voisins.

7. *Les Relations extérieures de la Turquie en général.*—La Turquie était actuellement dans un état international très stable. Ses frontières étaient définitives. Elle avait tout le territoire qu'elle désirait. Elle entretenait des relations qui n'inspiraient aucune anxiété avec tous ses voisins. Ses relations avec les grandes Puissances étaient bonnes, même excellentes. La Turquie n'avait qu'une seule politique internationale: celle de la paix. Cette politique était et resterait indépendante de la politique des autres Puissances: la Turquie ne ferait pas la politique de qui que ce soit; elle maintiendrait son entière indépendance, et j'aurais l'occasion de constater que le Dr. Rouschdy allait continuer sa collaboration dans la Société des Nations comme il avait commencé dans la Commission préparatoire et lutter pour les solutions des problèmes internationaux qui lui semblaient les meilleures, sans se faire le porte-paroles d'un autre État quelconque.

E. C.

Le 23 mars 1928.

2.)

Record of Interview between Rouschdy Bey and Sir E. Drummond.

Rouschdy Bey came to see me this afternoon, and we talked together for a considerable time.

He explained to me his ideas as to treaties of non-aggression and laid special stress on the necessity of an article in those treaties concerning the inviolability of frontiers.

I said to him that his thesis was very interesting, but that I felt bound to point that, as far as the members of the League were concerned, they already had assurances as regards the territorial integrity of their respective countries under article 10.

He said that his idea was not only that countries should undertake not to commit acts of aggression, but also that they should undertake not to aid or abet countries committing such acts. This was what he meant when he spoke of neutrality.

I said to him that I quite agreed with his thesis, but I considered that the use of the word "neutrality" was unfortunate, as it was not the general sense in which it was used.

Rouschdy Bey let fall some observations from which I gathered that Turkey did not intend to apply for membership of the League immediately. He said that, while he himself believed that it would be wise and good for Turkey to become a member of the League, there was considerable opposition which would have first to be overcome. Meanwhile, he was very glad that Turkey should be invited to, and to take part in, such meetings as the Security Commission, and this all had a good effect in Turkey. But his Government intended to wait and see what would happen with regard to Spain and Brazil, and also as to Poland. I therefore gathered that the Turks' hope is to be given a semi-permanent seat. I did not, however, make any remark on this latter point.

I have, &c.
H. D.

March 28, 1928.

No. 35.

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 10.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Angora, April* 10, 1928.

UNDER-SECRETARY of State for Foreign Affairs now tells me that Turkish and Greek Ministers for Foreign Affairs have been trying to clear the ground for non-aggression treaty similar to those concluded between Turkey and her other neighbours.

He added that it was also possible, in view of Turkey's interests in Mediterranean, that Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs might have discussed with Signor Mussolini negotiation of a similar treaty. In any case no agreement had yet been concluded.

(Repeated to Rome and Athens.)

No. 36.

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 11.)

(No. 11.)
(Telegraphic.) *Angora, April* 10, 1928.

MY immediately preceding telegram.

I hear from a private source that negotiation of a pact of non-aggression with Italy on basis of that with Russia has been discussed and approved in committee of Ghazi's People's party—the real legislative organ.

I am never-the-less reluctant to believe in so complete a reversal of Turkey's steadily pursued and I think wise policy of detachment (see my despatch No. 150) as would be implied by her entry into special treaty relations, however negative, with one of the Western Great Powers.

(Repeated to Rome and Athens.)

[E 1985/57/44] No. 37

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 184.)
Sir, *Angora, April* 8, 1928.

IN transmitting herewith a copy of the final report which Major Harenc has addressed to me on the termination of his period of attachment to this Embassy, I have the honour to call your attention to the devotion and efficiency which have characterised his discharge of the duties of military attaché here. As you are aware circumstances were against him until almost the end of his appointment. The war, the armistice, the occupation of Constantinople left memories which Major Harenc had to live down. The Turkish General Staff was on Angora but until 1926 the Embassy staff was confined to Constantinople. Normal diplomatic relations were not resumed till 1925, and until the summer of 1926 the Mosul question made anything like friendly relations with Turks impossible. Against all these difficulties—which are perhaps hard to realise fully in London—Major Harenc struggled without

discouragement, and in the end he overcame them. His knowledge of Turkey, his proficiency in Turkish, and his natural straightforwardness stood him in good stead.

2. Of the more technical side of Major Harenc's work it is not for me to speak, but I can say with confidence that this Embassy could not have been better served. In spite of all the obstacles in his way he supplied the information which was wanted, and brought sound judgment to bear upon it. His work as delegate in the latter part of the delimitation of the Thracian frontier zone, and the liquidation of the affairs of the Allied Railway Control, is already on record. His relations with his foreign colleagues were excellent. Among the diplomatic corps at large both Major and Mrs. Harenc made a great number of friends, and the regret felt at their departure is general.

3. As to the less technical matters dealt with in Major Harenc's report, I am in substantial agreement with him. The incredible secretiveness of the Turkish military authorities is, as he observes, in large part to be ascribed to their dread of giving away any military information to Russia, Greece or Italy, and to their consciousness of the ridicule they might incur if they were to expose the nakedness of the land. It is also, of course, largely due to a native habit of mind, which Major Harenc, as I have explained above, has not had a fair opportunity to overcome. There is, I think, ground to hope that, granted almost unlimited patience, his successor will eventually succeed in breaking down something of this barrier.

4. In regard to the attitude of the Turks towards England, I do not go so far as to agree that "thinking and educated Turks dislike England intensely." I was myself at Constantinople for more than three years of the occupation, and although it would be unbecoming in a civilian to comment on Major Harenc's observations on this subject, the fact cannot be overlooked that, whatever the merits of the case, it has left an enduring legacy of disillusion and resentment—a result in which the British Government has its share of responsibility to bear, particularly in respect of the enthusiastic and even fanatical support given in the earlier stages of the armistice to the Christian minorities. What surprises, however, at the present day is not so much the suspicion with which we are viewed as the rapidity of its decrease. There is now happily no doubt that, with the governing classes at least, the position that we occupy in this country since the Mosul Agreement has improved and is daily improving out of all recognition. Individually we are already often liked and even respected. Collectively, we are no longer held in the same esteem as before the occupation, but I notice signs that a new respect for us, rational rather than ethical, is growing up. The Turk of to-day, more energetic and more observant than his father who travels at all far afield has the shock of finding that Latin culture, which he had believed world-wide, ends with the Mediterranean basin. He comes upon a new aspect of civilisation practical and commercial, in keeping with his latter-day ideals and returns impressed and respectful. I have little doubt that before long we will see in Turkey a marked drift towards English education.

5. I am in entire agreement with Major Harenc's estimate of the feeling of the Turks towards their present Government, but I do not altogether see eye to eye with him in the summary of Turkey's foreign policy which forms the closing section of his report. I do not believe that the total incompatibility of the Turk and the Persian and the profound contempt in which each holds the other would ever be likely to allow in normal circumstances the establishment of a Turkish military mission in Persia, nor have I yet been able to obtain confirmation, though the fact itself is less improbable, of a Turkish mission to Ibn Saud. As regards Afghanistan, the influence exercised by Turkey in military matters is clearly large. It may be that something of the inspiration of her efforts here lies in an ultimate fear of Russia, and something more in the wish to keep up at least a platonic connexion with Moslem States; but personally I would look for much of it nearer home. The Turk of to-day is still a revolutionary, and, like all revolutionaries, something of a propagandist. It, no doubt, gives him satisfaction to feel that, even after putting away the sword of Mahomet, he is still exercising somewhere a mild hegemony by the combined efforts of his revolutionary and secular memories. Unhappily for him, the order of King Amanullah's grand tour which will bring His Majesty to Angora after the capitals of Europe, will probably inspire that monarch with some doubts as to the authentic westernism of Turkey.

6. Turkey's attitude towards Russia appears in the present phase clear enough. She is lying in Asia with a mighty disturbing bedfellow, with whom she is careful to avoid any disagreement. Furthermore—as was also the case with Germany—she has found herself in difficulties in the west and reinsured in the east. The reinsurance has cost her little, and she has declined at all times with firmness to

truckle to communism in her own borders. My impression is that Russian influence is slowing but steadily declining, that Turkey notes with satisfaction any little symptom of weakness in her neighbour that "oppressed peoples" and "oppressed classes" have ever cold and that she is agonizing Google richer and more respectable friends. I very much doubt, however, whether she has yet dreamed of making any concrete strategic dispositions against Russia.

7. As to the policy of His Majesty's Government towards Turkey, this, so far as I can venture to appreciate it, is best confined for the visible future to the cultivation of good relations for their own sake and the avoidance of commitments.

I have, &c.
G. G. KNOX.

Enclosure 1 in No. 57.

Major Harenc to Mr. Knox.

(No. 3.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March 30, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to forward my final report on Turkey. It is drawn up as a series of notes and is an attempt to present a picture of Turkey as I see it, viewed in the light of some nine years' experience of the country and contact with the man in the field as opposed to the man in the street.

These notes are on

The Army.
The Air Force.
The General Staff.
Attitude of Turks towards England.
Leaning towards their own Government.
Military situation of Turkey *vis-à-vis* the British Empire.

2. As you are aware, I am handing over the duties of military attaché to Major H. F. Heywood, M.C., and sail for India on the 1st April to rejoin my regiment.

May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the honour I have had in being a member of the staff of His Majesty's representatives in Turkey, and also to thank all the past and present members of the staff of this Embassy for their kindness to me during the period. It is with real regret that I sever this connexion with the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.
R. E. HARENC.

Enclosure 2 in No. 57.

Report on Turkey by Major Harenc.

The Army.

ALL that is definitely known about the army has been included in the draft of "The Handbook of the Turkish Army," a copy of which is kept by the military attaché. This is very incomplete, since the General Staff hold that all information regarding the armed forces of the republic is secret, and have never given me any information regarding the army. It has been compiled partly from information supplied by my colleagues, who are furnished with the funds which enable them to employ agents, but is principally the result of conversations with officers in the various garrison towns which have been visited.

As no opportunity has been afforded of attending manœuvres or exercises, it is impossible to appreciate the value of the army as a fighting force. As regards its *moral*, one can safely say that employed in the defence of the country it would be very high indeed, but if fed on a filibustering expedition into, let us say, Iraq or Syria, it is very doubtful whether it could be counted on. This opinion is based on numerous conversations with the "man in the street." I only give it as such.

There are no tanks or armoured cars, a few tractors have been bought and more are on order; mechanical transport is confined to garrison use. It is doubtful whether the possession of all these would materially assist the army when employed in Turkey, as the lack of roads fit for mechanical transport and the unsubstantial

nature of the bridges even on the main arteries would militate against their successful employment.

On the other hand, the Turkish soldier is inured to hardships, accustomed to exposure, can do with half a loaf of bread and 2 oz. of cheese as a daily ration, and, thanks to the fact that the greater part of them are agriculturists and use their legs regularly in their daily work, can cover considerable distances for days at a time. 30 miles a day on manœuvres is not considered excessive.

Ill equipped as it is when compared to a first-class European army, it is improving in this respect, the major portion of the country's revenues is earmarked for its use, being, as it is, a conscripted army, at need Turkey would be a nation in arms, and fighting in its own borders, on ground peculiarly suited to its methods, it would certainly give a very good account of itself against any invader.

The Air Force.

Here also definite knowledge is lacking. The only contact actually made with the air force was at a visit paid in 1925 to the new depôt school for pilots at Ghazimir, and on occasional visits to the aerodromes at Yeshilkeui (San Stefano), where although there are no planes, there used to be a Captain Muzir Bey, of the air force, who was generally ready to talk and was very hospitable.

The figures regarding number of planes available are varied; my own highest is 24 up to the end of 1927, since when ten more Devontines have been delivered, this figure is accepted by most of the other air attaches as reasonably correct, but my French colleague puts it at over 200, and he should know, as there are two French officers employed as instructors at Eskisheir. If the latter is correct, it means that a large number of Junker planes have been imported from Russia, and of these it is impossible to keep track.

As regards pilots. The French officers employed at Ghazimir described the graduates of that school as quite capable of taking a machine up, throwing it about and bringing it to land, but they did not take any interest in the other 90 per cent. of the training which goes to making an air force pilot, and therefore would not stand the test of active service. I cannot say if the graduates of Eskisheir have improved in this respect as no opportunity has occurred of talking to the instructors. The school at Eskisheir is reputed to turn out twenty pilots a year.

There is only one school for mechanics, that at Yeshilkeui, which produces thirty a year. Of their quality it is impossible to judge.

I think that the air force could put six squadrons of eight machines each into the air, but since the Kassarie aircraft factory has not yet started work, in the event of active operations against a well found air force, it could not maintain them for any length of time unless some other country came to its assistance with material.

Relations with the General Staff and other Officers.

The attitude of the General Staff to military attaches is, judging by standards of pleasantness in European countries, quite inexplicable.

On my first call, when I had explained my conception of my duties and expressed a hope that they would accord me facilities for getting to know the army and thus foster the mutual knowledge which breeds friendship, they gave me a typed statement in which it was stated that the Turkish forces consisted of infantry, artillery and cavalry and were organised into nine army corps (here followed their locations and the names of the general officers commanding), after this, there appeared a few statements such as "The infantry soldier is armed with a rifle and bayonet, and is equipped with a knapsack, water bottle and great coat." Since that I have never obtained any written information, and it was not until the end of 1926 that I was permitted to purchase training manuals and subscribe to the service magazines.

Soon after my presentation by Sir Ronald Lindsay of his letters of credence in March 1925 I was shown over the military schools and establishments at Constantinople and was allowed to see on parade a battalion of infantry, a battery of artillery, a regiment of cavalry. The colonel of the latter put his regiment through a few simple drill movements, mounted and dismounted, and allowed me to drill it. Since then, except when I was allowed to take photographs of a squadron attached to the Staff School at Yildiz and a battery of artillery, I have never been allowed by the General Staff to go near troops at exercise.

Up to March 1925 it was impossible to travel at all in Turkey, as we were not properly accredited. After that, whenever permission to travel was requested the

reason for the visit was always demanded. Fortunately, a quite fictitious passion for archæology has supplied a motive which has passed with them, and for the last two years, albeit somewhat grudgingly, permission has always been obtained to travel west of the Euphrates.

I have been told in so many words by officers whose acquaintance, I might almost say friendship, I have made in the last four years, that the General Staff discountenance anything approaching friendship between officers and a military attaché. Four individual officers would be good to be friends has been brought home to me many times, not only by the attitude of corps commanders like Shukri Naili Pasha and Najji Pasha, but also in the garrison towns, where, when not observed, officers will talk quite openly.

Many reasons for this treatment occur to one. I know of three:

(*a*.) Up to the end of 1926 they looked on England as a potential opponent in Iraq, and naturally kept me in as complete ignorance as possible regarding the army. Since then they look on Greece and Italy as such, and think that I might give information to them.

(*b*.) With the exception of my American and perhaps Japanese colleagues, the remainder employ paid agents; this fact is naturally known to the General Staff, and they resent it. I have had visits paid me by officers and civilians offering me information on military matters, and have naturally turned them down. Some of these have also visited my colleagues and been welcomed but have not given any information worth having. That we do not employ agents is, I think, at last appreciated by the General Staff, and the present chief of the 2nd Bureau has said lately that we would be accorded facilities if it was not for the others, but they cannot show preference. I hope that my successor may perhaps be given the tip to be in the neighbourhood of, let us say, Smyrna next October when manœuvres are being carried out, and may then, if alone get a look at the army in exercise.

(*c*.) In comparison with European armies the Turkish is not one to boast about as regards equipment. The Turk, on the whole, is inordinately proud, and does not like others to "see the nakedness of the land."

Attitude of Turks towards England

Apart from the directors of policy, of whose attitude others are in a better position to judge, I think the remainder of the thinking and educated Turks dislike England intensely. And small wonder. With the exception of Gallipoli we have beaten Turkey whenever met and taunted her self-esteem, it was British troops which held Constantinople and Chanak, British officers who enforced the terms of the Mudros armistice and rightly or wrongly they hold England responsible for the loss of the Greek army in Turkey during 1919–22 and above all it was British troops who carried out the Malta deportations.

It is necessary here, in order to get a clear conception of this dislike, to prick the two bubble-reputations of our conduct of the occupation of Constantinople and the treatment of prisoners of war. One was told in 1921–22 that the return of the Turkish prisoners of war from Egypt and India to Turkey would be the finest kind of propaganda—they had been treated so well in the prisoners' camps that they would refuse to fight against us again.' During the critical period at Chanak, the 22nd November to the 24th January, my principal work was carrying letters from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Turkish 4th Army Corps Commander and taking back answers which took about twice a week. This entailed much waiting at outposts naturally, I talked to any officer or man who could be induced to talk. Many of these had been prisoners of war, and the principal subject of conversation was their experiences. Almost without exception they all had tales of extortion and unnecessarily harsh treatment. At first I could not believe my ears, but as time went on examples multiplied, finally when told by Colonel Nogaipaid old man of Vezirköprü [illegible] the Inspectorate, seriously assured me that money was taken from him when it should not have been, I was convinced in spite of myself. Whether the stories are true or not, the feeling is there that the British treated their prisoners badly. I am thankful to say the memory is dying out as I am not in close touch with the conduct of the occupation of Constantinople [illegible] forces regarding, shall we call it, the acquisitiveness, of the British army make one blush for one's service. These stories are told without any heat, just

simply stating facts. Of course, a good many of the cases were perpetrated by the Greek and Armenian interpreters, on whom we had perforce to rely, but they might have been supervised by British officers, and at any rate the British are held responsible. I do know of one glaring case. I saw the Matchka armoury in February 1920, one section of it was a museum and held a rather fine collection of old weapons and armour. I went into it again in 1923 and the museum had been ravaged of all the best pieces; there were British guards on it, I understand, from the 17th March, 1920.

Of the occupation of Chanak in October 1922 to February 1923 I do know something, for I and the officers under me had to investigate many cases of wilful destruction of property in houses in which the troops were billeted, and they were pretty bad, a record of these should be in the files of that force if they have not been destroyed.

It is, therefore, with some surprise that I find they have a genuine respect for us. I do not think there is any doubt of this. The reasons for this as given to me are:—

During the war we were "bonny fighters," and fought clean. Since 1916 we have never truckled to them in any way and in all the bigger issues have got what we want. They think that we are the biggest Power in the world, have learnt our lesson over the Greek occupation, and will not allow Russia to interfere in Turkey and together could assure the peace of the Middle East. They would like to be friends with us, but do not like to take the first step.

French Feeling towards the Government

With the [illegible] class of persons, especially those whose long residence in this country and contacts with the population should entitle them to respect, would have one believe that the country is seething with discontent with the present régime, I find it hard to agree.

There are, of course, the remnants of the old régime, whose position has been [illegible] and who are naturally [illegible] it is just these, who, living in Constantinople, able to talk European languages and more or less European in outlook, are in touch with the tourist and the locally domiciled [illegible] and their views propagandised in Europe.

Despite these [illegible] in the forefront of the Nationalist movement, as [illegible] they should have been given a larger share in the direction of affairs [illegible] hold of that movement, the Turkish Republic, was born. Although this opposition is suppressed and its leaders are living abroad, it no doubt still exists, and in the event of the death of the Ghazi would possibly burst out again. One cannot help sympathising with them in their attempt to gain their end by constitutional means, *i.e.*, the formation of the Progressive party, and one disapproves of the manner in which their party was suppressed, but there is no doubt that Turkey was, and is, not sufficiently educated politically to afford an Opposition; it required a dictator and the Ghazi was quite right, in the interests of the country, to suppress it.

There is the semi-civilised Kurdish population of the Eastern Vilayets, which resented the lately introduced reforms of all kinds—social, administrative, &c.—which interfered with their long-established customs and manner of living. There is the religious element which resents the laicisation of the State, the emancipation of women, and the disestablishment of the tekkes. Finally, there is a very small element who are dissatisfied with trade conditions consequent on the departure of the Greek community.

But, not counting the Kurds, these do not amount to more than a small fraction of the population, the rest regard the Ghazi as the saviour of the nation, which he undoubtedly is and accept the various reforms and enactments with the resignation and obedience to constituted authority which is such a characteristic of the people. Further, the army is behind the Government and this means that any attempt at upsetting the Government would be ruthlessly crushed. The opposition know this and, beyond complaints and bombastic talk to their acquaintances of the European colony are very unlikely to take any active steps.

Turkey vis-à-vis the British Empire

One often hears it said that by getting rid of the khalifate Turkey lost her influence in the Moslem world and thereby removed a danger for us in India.

This, with the establishment of a Syrian and Iraq independent of Turkey and support of by two powerful European nations, the menace to our Eastern communications was removed. Dealt with Italy, Greece and Bulgaria, all potential enemies, who are only waiting to fall on her when the right moment arrives, her hands are tied. Therefore, why worry about what she does or can do, in effect, "let her stew in her own juice." The facts as stated are perhaps quite correct, but, in my opinion, the conclusions to the policy to be adopted wrong.

On one issue I think without fear of contradiction, that Russia is our bitterest enemy, for she looks on us as the chief obstacle to her dreams of world communism, that she is doing all she can by subversive methods to wreck the British Empire in the realm of economic recovery is certain; and she is certainly the opponent we are most likely to meet in open warfare. Communistic ideas are making headway in the Balkans, and Russia is at the back of it with a view to setting the country in a blaze, and afterwards taking on Turkey. A strong Turkey would be an asbestos curtain between such a blaze and the Indian Empire.

Turkey is taking every year from thirty to forty Afghan officers for a course of studies at the Harbieh Mektubi (Cadets' School), and I understand a few, three was the number given me, at the Erkan-i-Harb Mektubi (Staff College). There is a Turkish military mission in Afghanistan, to the head of which has just been appointed Nagji Pasha, a close personal friend of the Ghazi, whose instructor he was at Harbieh Mektubi reported to be one of Turkey's most scientific and successful soldiers, and a staunch anti-Bolshevik. According to one of my colleagues, who lately had a conversation with the Persian military attaché, Turkey is suggesting a similar liaison with Persia. Lastly, the latest rumour under this heading is that a similar liaison is being arranged with the Wahabite King [illegible] Instead of coquetting with Ibn Saud, it is obvious that Turkey is [illegible] to strengthen militarily as much as she can, the Mahometan States in [illegible] Against whom is this combination directed? Hardly against Baghdad, or rather Iraq, she does not require any more territory, for she is finding it hard to develop her present holding. She believes herself, and, I think, rightly, quite capable of taking on either the Greeks or the Italians. It can only be against Russia whom she undoubtedly mistrusts even when allowing people like Tewfik Rushdi Bey to renew lip service, if nothing else, to the Soviet emissaries at Geneva. Surely under these conditions a friendly Turkey is better than a hostile one.

As I have said elsewhere, she is too proud to take the first step, but I am sure would now welcome advances. The Turkish General Staff are sending one army officer every year to England for a year's attachment to a British unit, and propose to send two Air Force officers for a course of study. If the War Office scheme of sending officers on duty to Turkey to learn the language and be attached to Turkish units is accepted, this will be a bridge towards friendship and also a sure means of eradicating the dislike of England which I have harped on elsewhere.

E 1986 128 44 No. 38

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 185.)

Sir, *Angora, April 9, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch which I have received from His Majesty's consul at Trebizond on the subject of the return to the eastern vilayets of some hundreds of Kurds, who had been deported as a result of the events in these regions during and after the revolt of March 1925.

2. The return of these deportees is the first fruit of the change of policy on which Mr. Hoare reported in his despatch No. 807 of the 7th December, 1927. At intervals during the last three months the Turkish newspapers have published lists containing the names of some 2,000 persons in all whose return to Kurdistan is permitted. Those who have recently passed through Trebizond are probably, therefore, the vanguard of this chosen army of [illegible] Kurds. It will be remarked that according to Mr. Matthews, the returning Kurds are [illegible] exclusively from the common people. This confirms the impression which I had already formed by study of the published lists that, while desirous of showing a certain measure of clemency, the Turkish Government are not yet prepared to authorise the return to Kurdistan of the leading Kurdish families, whom they describe as feudal lords, and regard as the real obstacles to the establishment of the republican régime in the eastern provinces.

3. Meanwhile, there is little sign that the policy of pacification is yet yielding its very substantial results. The Inspector General has recently met all the important officials of the areas under his control at Mardin, where, according to the press, which gave the conference much prominence, important decisions were taken for the administration and development of the eastern provinces. The actual situation remains, however, obscure, and such reports as reach me are far from encouraging. Nor is there yet any sign of the Government deciding to raise the restrictions on travel which for the past three years have made the Euphrates the boundary of the forbidden land.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the British High Commissioner at Baghdad.

I have, &c.
G. G. KNOX.

Enclosure in No. 38.

Consul Matthews to Mr. Knox.

(No. 29.)

Sir, *Trebizond, March 26, 1928.*

IT is reported that parties of Kurds have been arriving here during the last few months on their way to their homes in the eastern vilayets. The first party is stated to have arrived in the latter part of January, and the last about a week ago by a Seri-i-Sefain Company's steamship. It is estimated that altogether about 400 persons have passed through Trebizond. Unlike the Kurds deported through Trebizond in the course of last year, to whom I had occasion to refer in my despatch No. 53 of the 21st November last, the Kurds at present being repatriated are stated to be drawn from the common people. Some were without resources on arrival and unable to continue their journey until authority had been obtained by the local authorities from the Central Government to provide them with the necessary funds.

I have, &c.
W. D. W. MATTHEWS.

E 1987, 560/44] No. 39.

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 186.)

Sir, *Angora, April 9, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour, with reference to my despatch No. 157 of the 18th March, to transmit herewith copy of a despatch from His Majesty's consul at Mersina reporting further on the situation in Cilicia.

2. It will be observed that Mr. Chafy now confirms his earlier impression that Cilicia is at last beginning to recover from the economic crisis which overtook it two years ago and from the departure of the minority elements. There seems therefore reason to hope that, granted a period of tranquillity and more enlightened administration, this province may at a not too distant date once more be a real source of wealth to Turkey.

3. To me, however, perhaps the most interesting part of Mr. Chafy's despatch is that in which he refers to the cordial relations which he has succeeded in establishing with the local authorities. Though this is doubtless partly due to instructions from Angora, where the suspicions of two years ago have given place to a considerable measure of cordiality, the credit must also be ascribed to Mr. Chafy himself, who to-day has Government servants applying to him for a post when no less than two years ago he was at his wits' end to get any Turk to serve H.M. Majesty's consulate in the capacity of translator.

I have, &c.
G. G. KNOX.

Enclosure in No. 39

Consul Chaffy to Mr Knox

(No. 25.)

Sir, *Mersina, March 23, 1928.*

ON return from a two days' visit to Adana I have the honour to add to the favourable observations on general progress in this district contained in my despatch No. 17 of the 4th instant.

2. *General economic condition.*—The optimism of the general economic situation expressed in the last paragraph of my despatch was upheld by Adana bankers and merchants. The Director of Commerce at Adana zone. All say that if the next harvest is up to the average of the last three years Turkey will be on her feet financially. They maintain that with Turkey's present system of communications only a small part—of Cilicia's natural wealth can be exploited. Much good land is easily cultivated. But agricultural machinery is gaining ground and if even a tithe of the land can be properly cultivated Turkey will do very well indeed. The Ottoman Bank at Adana has now cleashed nearly all the bad debts from what was known as the "Crisis" two years ago.

3. *Goodwill of Officials.*—Though the Ottoman Bank was even more scathing about Turkish business methods than I was in paragraph 5 of my despatch No. 19 of the 5th instant, it is refreshing to note the energy and goodwill of the officials especially in regard to relations with Great Britain. Mansour Bey, Director of Commerce at Adana, a friend of Colonel Woods, beamed benevolence, promised all possible collaboration and was chock-full of schemes of improvement. The Director of Agriculture at Mersina, whose praises I have sung to the Department of Overseas Trade, is as busy as ever with propaganda in favour of British machinery. He said openly that, though he was educated in Paris, he is worn out with drumming the excellence of things British, and especially engines, into the thick heads of Turkish farmers who cannot see that it pays them better in the long run to buy solid, though more expensive, British goods. I do not think that this official, who laughingly suggested that I should recommend him for a British agricultural order of merit, is exaggerating. I know of several cases where ploughs have been ordered by him and British appliances and have first-hand evidence of the recent increase in British threshing machines. From a visit the other day to the [illegible] experts went on to see the Government veterinary director, [illegible] of foreign training and correctly begged me to [illegible] colleges with a view to completing his education in one of them. As the veterinary service in this country is departmental [illegible] cross-breeding conveyed by animals exported to [illegible] I am sure the Department of Overseas Trade will send me the information asked for. I find these vilayet officials extremely friendly. Not being so terribly afraid of what they say as Valis they are more natural and get pleasantly talkative at an informal meeting. They all seem pro-British. Some [illegible] employés delayed my going on board a Khedivial steamer the other day [illegible] —will [illegible] more I cast all his private and public woes in a torrent of French. Several Government servants have applied for a post in this consulate. I find it useful to know all these people. My French and Italian colleagues have no intercourse with any officials below the rank of Vali and seem to have nothing to do with Turkish individuals.

4. *Official Courtesy to Captain McCallum.*—I enlisted the services of the Vali of Adana, Mushtaq Lufti Bey, to procure weather and road reports for Captain McCallum who is motoring across Turkey with his wife. He responded most courteously. It was no fault of his that forces of nature hindered these motorists' progress. With the exception of a stupid visit-tax official at Dortyol, I do not think that Captain McCallum has so far any complaint of his treatment in Turkey. The chief of police of Adana already sent him an English-speaking policeman to ask for daily orders at his hotel.

5. *Turkish Hospitality in Adana.*—I think Captain and Mrs. McCallum were bored than they feared by their enforced halt at Adana. Apart from other courtesies shown them, they and I were royally entertained by Turkish friends of mine, a leading Adana industrialist and his Circassian wife. Tennis was played on a perfect hard court and the most sumptuous meals were served at their hospitable board by a picturesque Turcoman parlour-maid. These agreeable people live in an up-to-date and perfectly [illegible] designed by a Turkish architect from Constantinople. The Circassian lady, who comes from Djihan in this neighbourhood, goes about with a loaded revolver in her hand-bag and dances on the slightest provocation with the blades of daggers between her teeth. She has, however, a well-stocked library of English books, and lent me several rare works on Cilicia which I had long been wanting to read. I must admit that I enjoy this sort of thing far more than the dreadful "at homes" in Mersina given by the Levantine-Franco Italian-Syrian leaders of "society." These functions are as heavy and out of date as the most typical "Armenian tea parties." Turks are hardly ever asked to them and the conversation is chiefly busied with abusing them.

6. *Progress in Schools.*—I am struck by the smart appearance of the boys and girls in the schools at both Adana and Mersina. The American missionaries say that good progress is being made in the schools and that the class of teachers is improving. I even gathered that a healthy rivalry is beginning between the American and Turk. girls' schools in Adana. The Americans admit that the Turks have scored a point by first starting Girl Guides, but boast of securing the daughter of the Vali of Mersina as a pupil.

7. *Improved Standard of Dress in the Provinces.*—To-day is Bairam, and apart from the grotesquely capped peasants, to whom I have referred in previous reports, it is astonishing to note the improved holiday appearance of the townspeople and the change it has undergone since last year. The majority of the men are now turned out in smart [illegible] and in many cases look very like Englishmen. The "sports" note is becoming marked. I suspect that the majority of the suits and styles come from Italy, where English made fashions are popular. Small boys who were ragged native urchins a year ago now appear in little ready-made suits as neat and decent as I saw going to Thorpe-le-Soken on a Sunday afternoon. Many of the women in Adana and Mersina still go heavily veiled, and look thoroughly frumpish and out of the picture, but all the young girls are unveiled and smartly dressed.

8. *Continued Modernisation of Adana.*—By modernisation in dress and buildings and other outward changes the Turks are really beginning to give their provincial towns a quite new appearance. This struck me on again visiting Adana after a long absence. I knew it first nineteen years ago, at the time of the 1909 Armenian massacres. It was then a grim and isolated Oriental town, the home of murderous fanatics. [illegible] tone of all that is dour. Now a policeman on a pedestal directs and disentangles its contesting traffic of ox-carts, camels and motor cars. What were once open booths are fast acquiring the appearance of modern shops. The streets are being repaved. The place is much cleaner, and some streets have been widened and straightened. A number of neat, modern villas, including one for the Vali, are going up. The queerest and, I think, the cleverest, touch of all is the new public garden. This is tastefully laid out, presumably by a German or a Swiss, on the banks of the River Sarus (Seihun). It commands an impressive view of the old Roman bridge that spans that muddy and once navigable stream and of the snow-clad ranges of the Taurus. The garden is complete with artificial statues of lions, elk and other rustic beasts, a bandstand, fountains, garden seats and the inevitable asphalt dancing floor. The general design is modern but pleasing, the flower beds are bright and well tended and the restful sound of the mowing-machine on the bright green lawns on an early spring day completes the illusion of being anywhere but in the old blood-stained Adana. The carping local Christian critics say that it would have been much better to complete a few kilometres of road between Adana and Mersina. But the Adana Turks were determined to have their public garden, and for my part I will willingly endure an occasional slow jolting by train to go and walk in it. To continue its enlightenment, the Adana municipality has just completed the negotiations referred to in paragraph 6 of my despatch No. 17, and have contracted with the Berlin firm known as A.E.G. to provide the town with electric light.

I have, &c.

R. E. W. CHAFY

E 1989, 129, 44] No. 40.

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received April 16*)

(No. 188.)

Sir, *Angora, April 9, 1928.*

IN his despatch No. 557 of the 9th November, 1927, His Majesty's Ambassador reported on the carrying out of the first systematic census of Turkey and on its somewhat surprising results.

2. Though foreigners were unanimous in ridiculing the published figures and though journeys through the barren uplands of Turkey leave one wondering where a population of 14 millions may be hid, M. Jacquart, the Belgian statistical expert, stoutly stands by his figures, and quietly pursues his labours in spite of the many administrative obstacles which he has to overcome. At times, however, he appears somewhat daunted and he now confesses to a member of my staff that no forms had yet reached him from any of the provinces. This, he says, is due to the absence of accommodation here for the housing of the forms and to the refusal of Ismet Pasha to yield to his request that the scrutiny of the forms and the tabulation of the statistical material should be undertaken in Constantinople, where adequate accommodation is available.

3. There may, however, be other reasons for the delay. Some two months ago it was reported that the house containing the forms for a certain vilayet had been burnt and all the forms destroyed. The only result is that a further census of this locality is to be held during the current month.

4. So opportune a fire somewhat taxes one's credulity, but not so much so as a native explanation given by M. Jacquart to-day regarding the forms for the Angora Vilayet. Being unable, for the reason stated above, to have all the census forms brought to Angora, M. Jacquart thought that a start might usefully be made with a scrutiny of the Angora returns. He accordingly applied to the Vali (the census was carried out under the orders of the local Turkish authorities) for the latter, which were in due course delivered, but fell short by about 10,000 of the published number. The deficiency was explained by the inability of the vilayet to obtain further forms from the Ministry of the Interior and from Constantinople, both of whose stocks were temporarily exhausted. Further forms are being printed and the transcription of the further 10,000 Angora names will, according to M. Jacquart, who told the story in all seriousness, be completed in due course.

5. It might have been expected that M. Jacquart's continued inquisitiveness in regard to the details of a census that had given such brilliant results would prove irritating to the Turkish authorities. On the contrary, his position steadily improves. He is now busy with the preparation of agricultural and industrial returns which may be of considerable value. From the 1st June next his department becomes independent of the Ministry of the Interior and his contract has been extended for a further period of two years. This will enable him to undertake the second census of Turkey in 1931.

I have &c.
G. G. KNOX.

[E 2117/128/44] No. 41.

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 191.)

Sir, *Angora, April 11, 1928.*

ALMOST without warning and without flourish of trumpets the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has this week taken a decisive and significant step which completes an important phase of the evolution of the Turkish revolution. The *decree nisi* between Islam and the State, which had been pronounced by the acceptance of the new Fundamental Law of the 20th April, 1924, was made absolute on the 5th April, when a Bill sponsored by Ismet Pasha was voted unanimously and with acclamation by the Chamber, providing for the omission from the Constitutional Law of any reference to religion.

2. I enclose herein a translation of the textual amendments. Briefly, they provide for the omission from article 2 of the clause defining Islam as the religion of the Turkish State, from article 26 of that defining one of the duties of the Assembly as the exploitation of the Sacred Law and for the substitution of the individual's honour for invocation of the Almighty in the oaths which the President of the Republic and all Deputies must pronounce on assumption of office.

3. The young republic can therefore claim with reason that it is now secular in the full sense of the word. Its final emancipation is the result of the consistent tenacity of the President's direction, which has never faltered through all the successive stages—the abolition of the Sultanate, the proclamation of the republic, the

suppression of the Caliphate, and now, on paper at least, the elimination of Islam from the machinery of government. To achieve all this in the short space of five years might well have seemed to anyone but Mustafa Kemal a Herculean task. To have carried the country with him in doing so would certainly have been thought impossible. But it has been done, and so successfully that, for the first time when a subject of first class importance was before the Assembly (an Assembly, moreover, which includes among its numbers eight or ten ex-hodjas, who now glory in the title of "bey" instead of "effendi"), the Ghazi did not consider it necessary to appear in person. Nor does any serious crisis to-day anticipate any serious repercussions.

4. It is perhaps not inappropriate to quote on this occasion a story of the voting of the suppression of the Caliphate related to me by one of the Presidents of State circles and which I believe to be true. A considerable outcry was provoked in the Chamber by some advanced Deputy in the course of a budget debate querying the Caliph's salary. The Ghazi sent from his own room to enquire what the noise was about. A deputation soon arrived to protest against this attack on the Caliphate, headed by a white-bearded hodja, whom the Ghazi at once addressed: "Hodja Effendi, did you not tell me yourself in Brusa that the Caliphate was a useless institution?" The hodja, who had, of course, said nothing of the kind, like a true Oriental acquiesced, and the motion for abolition was pushed through a subservient House without difficulty.

5. Some measure of the gulf which, in theory at least, separates the new Turkey from the old may be gathered from the *exposé des motifs* submitted by Ismet Pasha with his draft law. "The State," says the Prime Minister, "is an abstract idea and can, therefore, have religious obligations. These, therefore, are suppressed, but it should not be concluded that the Government will encourage irreligion. Rather is it desired that religion should not become a tool of the Administration, but that it should remain a sacred contact between God and the individual in mosque, church or synagogue, all being under the protection of the State." Such a pronouncement by the Prime Minister of a State which thirteen years ago declared a holy war and whose power, even six years ago, in the Moslem world was feared, largely because it could not be estimated, shows something of the revolution which has been achieved.

6. So much for the past. As for the future, one is naturally inclined to speculate on the ultimate effects of the recent decision. So far as Turkish Moslem opinion is concerned, any revulsion of feeling can at once be discounted. The ground has been well prepared and has proved itself to be something very much less firm than the pure Islamic rock in which foreigners had been wont to believe. Rather does the history of the last five years go to prove the correctness of the theory often advanced to me by Deputies in close touch with the Ghazi that, whatever might be said of his fathers, the modern Turk was not and is not deeply religious, and that such religious feeling as exists is to be found not in the small towns and villages, as might be expected, but in the larger centres of population, where the teaching and fanaticism of the hodjas have been more successful than where the ignorant peasant had nature as a corrective.

7. From this it must not, however, be supposed that Islam as a factor in the Turkish State is dead. Far from it. The creator of the revolution is often reputed to be an atheist, but the rallying call is still "Turkey for the Turks," and, though the Constitutional Law includes in the latter term all children of the fatherland, it in fact is only applied to Moslem Turks. How far this particularism may be founded on instincts of religion or of race is a matter for academic speculation. The important consideration for ourselves is that each step in the official secularisation of Turkey has put it increasingly out of the power of this country to use the weapon of religion against us in our Eastern dependencies. It has also undermined the general prestige of Islam and should weaken in all parts of the world its more militant sects.

I have &c.
G. G. KNOX.

Enclosure in No. 41.

Extract from the "Stamboul" of April 6, 1928.

(Traduction.)

L'ARTICLE 2 amendé sera libellé comme suit :

La langue officielle de la République turque est le turc et sa capitale est la ville d'Angora.

L'article 16 (après l'amendement)

Les Députés qui entrent à l'Assemblée prêtent le serment ci-après :

"Je jure sur mon honneur que je ne me livrerai à aucun acte contraire au bonheur, au salut et à la souveraineté sans restriction du peuple et que je ne cesserai d'être fidèle aux lois de la république."

L'article 26 (après l'amendement).

La grande Assemblée nationale élabore [illegible] décide en [illegible] leur interprétation, leur annulation ou abolition ; conclut avec les [illegible] ces pactes et des traités de paix ; déclare la guerre, [illegible] les [illegible] concernant les nuances et les comptes de l'Et[illegible] ou abroge les [illegible] pétitions comportant des engagements financiers et les concessions ; proclame [illegible] partielle ou générale ; accorde des atténuations ou des commutations de peines [illegible] l'ajournement des enquêtes et les pénales, ratifie les sentences qui [illegible] des tribunaux avant leur exécution.

L'article 38 (après l'amendement).

Le Président de la République aussitôt après son élection fait devant l'Assemblée le serment suivant :

"Je jure sur mon honneur d'observer et de défendre, en ma qualité de Président de la République, les lois républicaines et les principes de la souveraineté nationale, de déployer fidèlement tous mes efforts pour le bonheur du peuple turc, d'écarter avec énergie tout danger qui menacerait l'État turc, de ne cesser de me consacrer au devoir que j'ai assumé et de sauvegarder l'honneur et la dignité de la Turquie."

E 2118 1223/44 No. 42.

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 192.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April 13, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy [illegible] No. 30 of the 6th April, in which His Majesty's Consul at Mersina gives [illegible] of the conditions under which the Christian elements are permitted to reside in Cilicia.

2. The act of these Christians, like that indeed of all the minorities in Turkey, [illegible] Mr. Chafy observes that it is a very definite Turkish point of view on the question which it is desirable to bear in mind in considering the position of the minorities. Their tragic history is too recent to require recapitulation. Suffice it to say that, forced back on their own resources by the Treaty of Lausanne, such minorities as remain outside the sheltered pale of Constantinople, have endeavoured, often sincerely, to become loyal citizens of the republic. That the latter should not have welcomed them with open arms is not surprising, the recollection of the past is still too fresh. It is not, however, so much their religion that is suspect as their mental outlook, which the Turks regard as having been contaminated by a generation or more of Greek propaganda culminating in open treason during the war and armistice.

3. As Mr. Chafy observes, however, intelligent Turks are beginning to realise something of what has been lost to Turkey by the forced departure of the whole productive element among the Christians. Of this I had most interesting confirmation yesterday, when a chance remark at luncheon to Hamdullah Subhi Bey, a former Minister of Public Instruction, now president of the "Turk Ojak" movement, who was probably one of the main inspirers of the "National Pact" and who is certainly among the most fervent Turkish Nationalists of to-day, induced him to talk at some length of the history of the Turcophone Greek Orthodox Christians of Central Anatolia. In spite of their religion, these belonged, he said, to the original stock

had been converted under the Byzantine Empire, and in 1922 were the purest blooded Turks in Turkey. They were uncontaminated by Hellenic propaganda and were intensely loyal, a fact of which he himself had had ample proof during the Greek campaign. They had, however, to suffer for the treason of their co-religionaries. Hamdullah Subhi Bey himself had strongly opposed their inclusion in the exchange of populations, but circumstances had been too much for him, and he had to give way. As a result, Turkey had lost many thousands of her best Turkish-speaking peasants, and in return had received a smaller number of Cretan and other immigrants who were Greek in everything but religion. He would himself be the first to admit that their retention in Turkey, where they would have offered a perpetual target for Hellenic propaganda, would have severely taxed the statesmanship of any country, and most of all that of Turkey. He could not, however, regard their expulsion as anything but a mistake of the first magnitude.

4. Such a pronouncement by the leading doctrinaire of modern Turkish nationalism is surprising and significant, and perhaps offers some ray of hope for the future, to which the complete secularisation of the republic should also gradually contribute. These observations, of course, in no way apply to the communities of Constantinople, not in a minor degree, to those of the coastal areas [illegible] where considerations of strategy and foreign politics are alone likely for a time to dominate all Turkish views.

I have, &c.
G. G. KNOX.

Enclosure in No. 42.

Consul Chafy to Mr. Knox.

(No. 30.)

Sir, *Mersina, April 6, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to refer to my despatch No. 13 of the 25th February last on the doings of Père Edmond, of the French Capucin Mission in Mersina, and to give a further idea of the position of "local" Christians in this district.

2. I have since spoken to the French vice-consul here and to my French colleague in Adana about Père Edmond. While not appearing to attach undue importance to the last incident by which he provoked the Turks, that of an amateur dramatic performance of "Les Fourberies de Scapin," they admit that he is "malin," and that this seemingly harmless piece does contain objectionable matter in the shape of a reference to the character and doings of Barbary Corsairs. The local censor would naturally be peculiarly sensitive to these passages (said to have been expunged by Père Edmond), but there is no evidence that he was invited to the show or had the text previously submitted to him. Local censors, who are, I believe, the Directors of Education, are thorough and conscientious people, judging (*a*) by the one at Mersina who kept my new "Lloyd's Register of Shipping," a somewhat dry and ponderous tome, for nearly a month before the Customs would deliver it to me, and was only prevented from perusing it from A to Z by my constant protests, and (*b*) by his colleague at Adana, who was so enthralled by "Hamlet," recently produced for the first time in that city, that that harmless play, which deals with a strictly neutral prince (and subsequently had a "succès fou") was only released just in time for performance. I was not, therefore, surprised to hear from the French vice-consul that Père Edmond was alleged to [illegible] the police as well as his troupe, and presumably [illegible] controlled, and that his latest trouble is taking the form of a new boulevard so constructed as to bee-line from the railway station to the sea as to slice through the Ecole des Sœurs and incidentally to end with a bump at the house of Père Edmond's high [illegible] part Mr. Rickards, who forms the subject of my despatch No. 26 of the 20th ultimo.

3. There is no doubt of the unpopularity of "local" Christians on this particular [illegible] from which there are even rumours that the very fellaheen may be distrusted [illegible] and it is easy to see why the slightest attempt of a foreign Christian mission to rally the remnants, even at harmless social entertainments, is met with instant suspicion and actual police action. Mersina, formerly a prosperous European-aspect commercial town was before possessed by Christians, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, "Latins," Maronites, &c. They had their [illegible] flourishing schools, churches, priests, orphanages, cemeteries and organised communities. Now little boys play football in the churchyard of the large and deserted Greek church from which the stalls are used in the local cinema, the precincts of the Armenian

church are turned into a timber yard and most of the others have been correspondingly desecrated. Only three churches are still "working," the French Catholic, the Maronite and the Syrian Orthodox, which latter sect is now in bad odour. All Christian schools have been closed down here. I cannot even guess at the pre-war Christian population of Mersina. It must have amounted to many thousands. The Greek consul told me that the Hellenic subjects numbered at least 600, and I believe that the Ottoman Greeks in the district were about 20,000. The Maronites alone occupied a whole quarter of the town. According to a rough estimate of the French vice-consul, about 486 Christian families of Mersina, of about 1,280 souls, have opted for Syrian nationality. These are nearly all Syrian Orthodox (the sect that formed the subject of Embassy despatch No. 61 of the 29th December last). Four hundred to 500 of these individuals have already left, and I understand that the present delay for the rest will expire next August. Not more than ten or fifteen Syrian Orthodox individuals [illegible] Mersina and [illegible] six in Adana. The total number of "local" Christians of all sects, that is, Christians who will be Turkish subjects, in the district will be round about 500, though this estimate is given under all reserve. At present the Turks seem to be playing a sort of cat and-mouse or Pharaoh-and-Moses game with the "opting" and "exchangeable" Christians. They would appear to be partly influenced by their essential utility and are obviously interested in their real property, which amounts in value to some millions of Turkish pounds. The affairs of the opting Christians cause my French colleague constant worry and endless arguments with the Vali.

4. I doubt if, in estimating the number of Christians who will locally remain, my French colleague took account of Armenian Protestants. It is surprising to find that quite a number of Armenians remain here and in Adana. Some of these have taken Turkish names and [illegible] passports. I do not speak to with particular Armenian sects they originally belonged to. Dr. Ayers of Adana, who keeps up the "head of the mission," who is, I think, [illegible] will [illegible] girls' [illegible] hospital, told me last year that they still have a congregation of over a hundred Armenian Protestants. I mentioned in one of my former reports that the head of the mission at Tarsus, a doctor not allowed to practise, who runs a boys' school told me that they still manage to slip in a bit of religion. I do not know if any subterfuges are employed at Adana or whether the above congregation is clandestine or not. Talking the other day to the head of the girls' school there, I gathered from what she told me of the Broussa incident that her accused colleagues were not entirely blameless. The Russian incident had irritated the Vali and they had thought it wise to invite [illegible] inspection of their school's affairs and apparently got away with a fairly clean slate. It appears that the Anglo-American Mission has given some sort of parole to the Turks not to preach. I was told this the other day by the dame in solitary charge of the once flourishing American mission, school and hospital at Mersina. She said she had given no such promise. This lady, who is of the hardest Scottish-American-Presbyterian stuff, produces a gramophone, plays and hymn singing and some sort of nasal American Arabic praying or preaching, which somewhat disturbs her neighbours, with the remaining faithful of her own particular sect. I think there may be more Armenians still existing in this district than are counted in the congregations of the Americans. I should not be surprised if some are hidden away conducting useful handicrafts for Turkish employers.

5. Intelligent Turks know quite well what they have lost with the Armenians, but are replacing skilled labour to some extent by Germans and Hungarians, Cretans and Cypriots. "Local" Christians are decidedly not wanted in the mass except to skin for their money. Watching the rapid modernisation and Turkification of these parts, one begins to see the Turks' point of view and to realise that "local" Christians are quite out of the picture. It is as much as some modern Turks can do to stand the sight of their own khodjas, let alone some black crow of a priest. In Mersina they have abolished their dreadful small hours-of-the-morning Ramazan drum-and fife bands, and I wonder that they tolerate the dismal tolling of Père Edmond's bell on this Good Friday. But decent Turks are more tolerant than is sometimes supposed, and it is obvious that they are not so much attacking other people's beliefs as the continuance of anti Turkish social demeanour inspired by foreign mission propaganda. They object to the pseudo-French community composed of the remnants of these local Christians who, remembering their old régime heyday, are not prepared to coalesce with them and are inclined to scoff or keep aloof when invited to co-operate in their various forms of modernisation. They do not like to hear little pip-squeak Syrians of either sex conversing in bad French in their streets

or social entities, when they know quite well that their home language is Arabic, and that they can converse equally well in bad Turkish if they wish. They want really to whiten" Mersina and the Germans and Hungarians and Swiss and Swedes and Poles and Yorkshiremen who are making their drains and building their railways and laying out their parks and starting their pig-farms and running their cotton-mills fit much more happily into their scheme of things, and I don't believe they would mind if the whole lot of us ran up a Swedenborgian Conventicle and joined in hearty prayer or started a glee-singing club or gave nightly renderings of Ibsen or Bernard Shaw. They would certainly be delighted if we put up a football team against them.

6. I have mentioned before that my French and Italian colleagues and their colonies have scarcely any social intercourse with the Turks. This, of course, is not so much to be wondered at when their Latin influence is opposed and attacks are made on their cure. Moreover, their social circles include the polished pillars of the local" Christian community, who are not likely to encourage them to take a wider view of Turkish mentality or to show indulgence to efforts at modernisation. I quite agree with my colleagues that the Turks of Mersina are as yet lacking in the niceties of social conduct and, though I fear that they have never quite forgiven me for inviting the local authorities to tea and making them play musical chairs (at which none succeeded but the Vali), I must concur with them in withdrawing my patronage from a local cinema at which revolvers are drawn (as happened only the other day in the course of some trifling dispute) by members of the audience as well as on the screen. I see that, until the edicts on horse-racing introduce modern abuses, I must confine my social intercourse with Turks to the local Djerrid field, where I have always found good sportsmanship to prevail and where any gentleman can get comfortably knocked off his horse by a flying bludgeon without any tiresome to-do. For I am now warned by my colleagues against the new Mersina Club, which I praised so much in my despatch No. 17 of the 4th ultimo and at which a regrettable incident has since occurred.

7. The "Turkje Konush" notice has penetrated to Mersina and [illegible] appropriately posted in such centres as the "Lattakia Quarter," [illegible] Arabic-speaking fellaheen, and the vestibule of the club. Personally I [illegible] social [illegible] place without first getting off a nervous Turkish speech to the Bulgarian major-domo, and take it as a matter of course that Turkish is the language in which you share refreshment with the master of a British steamship or chat to your cheesemonger. The club, as I said, wishes to assume a more purely Turkish character, and this desire was abruptly exemplified by the following incident, to the detriment of a scion of the oldest and most prominent Christian house in the place: This house, which dates almost from Mersina's foundation, was formerly one of the principal bulwarks of Christian commerce and culture, and once displayed on its façade the coats-de-armes of at least three foreign Powers and quasi-naturalised in many nationalities to its descendants. The one in question, who carries a Roumanian passport, but whose origin is Greek, whose name is Tahmidji and who is supposed to be able to behave himself in five or six languages, which certainly include Turkish, rashly provoked a local Turkish bully over the "Turkje Konush" question at some club merry-making. I was not present at the proceedings, but I understand that, hearing a Turk reproved a member of the jazz band for speaking in some tongue (presumably Roumanian), he took upon himself to interrupt a following number, called to entertain the company in French, by imitating the bully's manner and language in suggesting that the Turkish language should be preferred. A fracas arose and unfriendly words flew on both sides. Violence was prevented on the scene, but M. Tahmidji was promptly called to order, posted, black-balled and otherwise forced to abdicate and withdraw from the Mersina Club. He shortly afterwards proceeded to Beirut *pour raisons de santé* and, as actual police court proceedings are said to be pending, it seems unlikely that he will return. The whole incident was evidently vulgar and unpleasant (and might, one would think, have been smoothed down by the Vali), but I think that it illustrates anti-local Christian feeling in a somewhat striking manner.

I have, &c.
R. E. W. CHAFY

[E 2119/128/44] No. 43.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April [illegible])

(No. 191)

Sir,

Constantinople, April 18, 1928.

IN his despatch No. 149 of the 12th March last Mr. Knox reported the later developments and implications of the Ihsan Bey case. I have now the honour to inform you that it came quietly to a conclusion on the 16th instant. Interest in it had diminished very markedly ever since the impression got abroad that the sentence was going to be moderate. The verdict has in the end proved to be even less sensational than was expected. Ihsan Bey himself is condemned to two years hard labour, and of his accomplices Sabanjali Hakki gets one year, and Dr. Fikret and Nazim four months each. It must be admitted that the evidence produced in the course of all these months was meagre. It was clearly shown that Ihsan Bey ordered the docking in deliberate opposition to the opinion of his colleagues, but a breach of Customs etiquette, it was very properly held, was no criminal offence. In the matter of the repairs needed by the "Goeben" the proof was much less clear, and [illegible] only to the conclusion that Ihsan and his accomplices had abused their position to the detriment of the Government, if circumstances beyond their control had not frustrated their designs, and it is on this count that they have received their sentences.

2. The Ghazi thus comes successfully out of the whole episode. A dangerous element has been discarded without disturbance. A warning has been given against the time-honoured practice of corruption. The judgment—which must be supposed to have been inspired from the highest quarter—is statesmanlike in that it is not vindictive. Ninety-nine Turkish officials [illegible] for the [illegible] of Malta [illegible] have been working in close association with the Conservative Party. This recent disarms any sympathy they might have had for [illegible] public man in this case scarcely echo the comment with which years ago [illegible] Abdul Hamid's dismissal of a Minister of Marine whose depredations were even more notorious: "Après tout, c'est un honnête homme: il n'a fait que voler."

3. But for the very reason of its lenience this sentence can hardly be expected to give more than a moral [illegible] to the system of corrupt practices which have always made Turkish administration rotten. Supply departments in the Ministry of Defence are for the time being so scrupulous that business is difficult to conduct. But in less conspicuous corners of the administration such as are to be found in the customs and police, backsheesh is offered and taken as freely as ever. As was intimated in previous despatches, further scandals will no doubt be brought to light and another which has just been referred to the High Court is that concerning Ali Jenani Bey, the late Minister of Commerce, and half a million Turkish pounds which he appears to have devoted to various purposes besides the purchase of corn for which it was provided. But it is thought that he will get off lightly and he is still seen in the best society. Happily Mr. Knox is now able to report that the new movement of opposition mentioned in paragraph 10 of his despatch No. 149 appears to have subsided. As concerns our own particular interests we may note with satisfaction that while French and German firms showed in a very bad light in the Ihsan Bey affair, there was no adverse mention of a British firm. For the rest public attention is now absorbed by foreign rather than home affairs.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2120/1223/44] No. 44.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 195.)

Sir,

Constantinople, April 18, 1928.

WITH reference to Mr. Knox's despatch No. 162 of the 22nd March last, I have the honour to transmit a copy of a despatch in which Mr. [illegible] reports the effects which the "Compatriot, Speak Turkish" movement has had in Adrianople. In Constantinople too the movement, which was in its origin promoted by students, has been directed against [illegible] and Jews travelling on ferry steamers and it prudent still to refrain from chattering too much in their native tongue, but some weeks ago a semi-official announcement was made by the "Turk Ojak" organisation definitely condemning any use of violence and stating that its policy was

[illegible]

[illegible] unity of tongue by promoting the study of Turkish. Courses in Turkish have for some time been given at the "ojaks" here and elsewhere for the benefit of foreigners and non-Moslems.

2. An ardent advocate of assimilation in the Jewish community, M. Moise Cohen *alias* Ikram Alp Bey, has issued a new set of ten commandments:—

Turkify your names.
Speak Turkish.
Pray in Turkish.
Teach in Turkish.
Root out the community spirit, &c.

He had support, of course, from leading Turks who probably has own community were [illegible] sorry to see him speak when matters were [illegible] But, although in the long run the Jewish community may choose to ease its position by carrying its assimilation a stage further than the present, the extreme measures proclaimed by Tekin Alp are not at present desired by either Turks or Jews. That the position of the Jews has improved is shown by the removal at the end of last month of the restrictions which [illegible] some time prevented them from travelling either abroad or in this country.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 44

Consul Dawkins to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 11)

Sir,

Adrianople, April 11, 1928.

WITH reference to the reports which have appeared in the Constantinople press concerning the incident of the posters urging the use of the Turkish language, which were removed here by order of the Vali, as being the cause of frequent breaches of public order, I have the honour to confirm that they are substantially correct, and that the affair appears to have originated trivially in the acts of mere children.

2. The upshot, however, in which the action of the Vali has been approved and his critic, the educational inspector, Halid Bey, removed from his post, appears to redound to the credit of the good sense and equity of the local authorities; and I hear that the chief of police, who is well known for his personal dislike of the Jews, has said that every one is free to speak any language he likes and that he will never allow such notices to be posted about.

3. As a matter of fact, the Spanish-speaking Jews of the town, who are those chiefly aimed at by the propaganda (being practically the only non-Turkish-speaking element except the Bulgarophone Pomaks, who reside mostly in the country), although they find it naturally difficult to forgo the use of their ancestral language, have given the best proofs of their formal assent to Turkish wishes by making sometime ago Turkish the official language of the Jewish clubs.

I have, &c.

J. McG. DAWKINS.

[E 2250/43/44] No. 45.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 202.)

Sir,

Constantinople, April 24, 1928.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a press report of the speech made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs during the debate on the estimates of his Department.*

2. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, who had already reported to the Popular party about his negotiations with Italy and Greece, said nothing very startling in the Assembly. The one dark spot on his horizon is the Syrian frontier, and on this subject he allowed

* Not printed

himself to dwell at some length, implicitly charging the French Government with a certain lack of goodwill. His language shows that he still feels the animus alluded to by Mr. Knox in his despatch No. 150 of 7th ultimo.

Literally translated, what the Minister said about relations with ourselves was "with the British Empire, with which we have constant touch, either direct or indirect in every sphere, our relations continue to be excellent." Behind this curious phraseology there was, I presume, nothing more than thought of Irak and Palestine.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2381/43/44] No. 46.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 207.)

Sir, *Constantinople, April 30, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I proceeded to Angora on my return from Italy of which I informed the Minister for Foreign Affairs as soon as I arrived in Constantinople and still enjoying the recollection of his visit to Geneva and his conversation with Signor Mussolini.

2. As regards the former event, I asked his Excellency why, since he had been so favourably impressed by all that he saw there, he had made no mention of Geneva in his recent speech to the Assembly (see my despatch No. 202 of the 24th April). He replied that he had to be very careful; opinion was still much divided on this question of the League of Nations and, if he had spoken about Geneva, it would have raised a discussion, which was what he most wanted to avoid. If this is so, it would seem that it may be some little time yet before Turkey takes any definite step towards membership of the League of Nations. I may add that Tewfik Rushdi was loud in his praises of Lord Cushendun, for whose handling of the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference he expressed the greatest admiration.

3. His Excellency did not add anything of what has already been reported to you by His Majesty's Ambassador in Rome and by Mr. Knox in regard to our meeting with Signor Mussolini at Geneva, beyond saying that consultations have already taken place between Turkish and Italian delegates, that it was intended to hold the next Italo-Turkish conference at Angora to be preceded by visits to Rome and Angora by Tewfik Rushdi Bey, that it was hoped to reach definite agreement between Greece and Turkey without delay and that, as before my interview with M. Papa, the new Greek Minister at Rome had made a proposal on his own initiative which Tewfik Rushdi was disposed to accept and both parties were now only waiting for the Greek Government to confirm this suggestion. As soon as this was done the Minister for Foreign Affairs was confident that he would conclude his part with Italy.

4. The only other point of particular interest in the interview was the Foreign Minister's statement that the agreement on the Mosul question had been accepted with minor modifications of detail and that, as soon as these modifications had been accepted in Paris, he expected to sign the final settlement forthwith. Whether these modifications will appear so insignificant at Paris as Tewfik Rushdi considers, I cannot say. It is a regular Turkish practice to make last minute changes in documents which are ready for signature, but in this case there is little doubt that their purpose is also to cause sufficient delay to make it impossible to obtain the approval of the National Assembly during the present session, and thereby to postpone for at least another six months the disagreeable necessity of finding the money to pay the bondholders.

5. I have sent a copy of paragraph 4 of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Rome and Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2377/126/44] No. 47.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 212.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 1, 1928.*

SUCCESSIVE Ministers have during the past week made optimistic speeches before the Grand National Assembly and the account of his stewardship given by the Minister of Finance in particular, a copy of which was sent to you under cover of my despatch No. 202 of the 24th April last, is full of robust cheerfulness. An appreciation of the new budget will be sent to you as soon as possible.

2. Unfortunately, the edifice of Turkish finance, so lately erected by the present Turkish Government, is showing some ominous cracks, though these are as yet not large. Their danger to the edifice is therefore difficult to gauge.

3. It will be remembered from my despatch No. 39 of the 19th January last, that the Belgian railway group which had contracted to construct the Caesarea–Sivas–Erzerum line was unable to find its obligations and was, therefore, deprived of its concession.

4. Since that time other foreign groups have definitely been given the work, but the Turkish Government has made much of somewhat nebulous offers made by various American, Italian and German groups said to be desirous of undertaking it, and has allotted the construction of 98 kilom. of railway on the line to a Turkish group.

5. Now the press, and in particular Mahmoud Bey, Deputy for Sert and a close friend of the Ghazi, are accusing the Swedish-Danish group, which has begun the construction of the Angora–Malatia-Diarbekir lines, of bad faith and of a desire to model the Turkish Treasury. At the bottom of this accusation lies the fact that the lines in question are to cost approximately £T.230,000,000 instead of the original estimate of £T.110,000,000 to £T.120,000,000. Should the former figure be correct, the Turkish Government will have the utmost difficulty in finding the necessary sums out of revenue and is likely to be forced sooner or later to have recourse to a foreign loan.

6. This week rumours have appeared in the press of serious disagreements between the Turkish Government and the Belgian Match Monopoly. The Turkish Government contends that the Sinope factory built by the monopoly, which is eventually to revert to the Government, has been badly constructed and that the foreign group is endeavouring to force Belgian matches upon Turkey, whereas it is under an obligation to make as many matches as possible in Turkish territory.

7. At the same time the Constantinople market is being shaken by a number of minor bankruptcies. The important failure of the Turkish firm of Avanzaluk Zadeh Freres I have already reported, but the small Jewish middlemen and others having in their train, are, in most cases, in no way connected with the Constantinople milch cow of the present Administration as the reference to a short period for which the local trader can raise his credit. Turkish Government responsible for the latter are in turn faced with the usual problems of some magnitude, in connexion with their railways in particular, and their relations with foreign groups and their work in the country cannot be said to be very happy at present.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

C 3489/45/19] No. 48.

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 7.)

(No. 68.)

(Telegraphic.) R. *Rome, May 7, 1928.*

MY despatch No. 304 and Athens telegram No. 67.

I understand that at Milan Italian treaties with both Turkey and Greece had been proposed subject to both signing protocol ensuring that their outstanding differences would be either settled or submitted to arbitration within three months, when Turco-Greek treaty would follow. This protocol was not approved at Angora, but Turkish Government were very insistent that Italy should sign the treaty with

[2097] K

Turkey, and, as negotiations between Turkey and Greece were proceeding satisfactorily, Italian Government now propose to sign parallel treaties with Turkey and Greece in the hope that this will be followed before long by conclusion of Turco-Greek treaty. Negotiations are proceeding in Athens, but are not expected to be concluded for about a week.

(Repeated to Athens and Angora.)

C 3521/45/19 — No. 49

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 8.)

(Nos. 72, 73 and 74.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Athens, May 7, 1928.*

I HAD occasion to see Italian Minister this morning, and conversation veered to the subject of Italy, Greece and Turkey. He affirmed that his Government was strong and would do all in their power to facilitate agreement between Greece and Turkey, and that ideally they desired conclusion either of simultaneous and complementary pacts between all three or of some tripartite agreement.

He added, however, that Italian Government had precise and positive information regarding strenuous efforts being made by the Soviets to prevent a Turkish rapprochement with any Western Power, and I received a pretty clear impression that in these circumstances the Italian Government might find it necessary to conclude a non-aggressive pact with Turkey without waiting for the Greeks and Turks to come to terms.

Other points on which my Italian colleague laid stress were:

1. Italian Government's keen and genuine desire to consolidate peace at this end of the Mediterranean, and, if possible, to facilitate similar process in the Balkan Peninsula.
2. Their friendly attitude towards Greece, and their recognition that she is an important factor, whose interests deserve taking into account.
3. Their conviction that their aims and present attitude are in harmony with British policy and wishes.

The Italian Minister added that the undesirability of Greece taking any steps which would not command the approval of His Majesty's Government had been impressed strongly on the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs by Signor Mussolini himself.

C 3556/45/19 — No. 50

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 9.)

(No. 76.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Athens, May 9, 1928.*

THERE is a certain nervousness here lest Greece should be left in the lurch in her difficulties with Turkey by Italy signing an agreement with Turkey independently.

C 3662/45/19 — No. 51

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain. —(Received May 14.)

(No. 78.)

Telegraphic. P. *Athens, May 13, 1928.*

THE present position, according to the Minister for Foreign Affairs who has resumed duty, is as follows:—

There is substantial agreement regarding the Turco-Italian pact of non-aggression, &c.

The signature of a similar Greco-Turkish pact, unless accompanied by a clearing of outstanding questions or provision of machinery to settle them, is still unsatisfactory in the eyes of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Most important questions fall into two categories: properties and so-called exchanges. Minister for Foreign Affairs has

already proposed and Turkish Government have accepted a liquidating arrangement for former, which interests Turkey most and could be settled in a few months. Minister for Foreign Affairs has proposed and Turkish Government have refused a similar arbitration for the latter, which interests Greece most, and may take two years to finish. His Excellency is pressing Angora to reconsider its decision on this point.

Minister for Foreign Affairs said that he cannot tell whether Italy will sign separate pact with Turkey in the absence of agreement between Greece and Turkey. He does not think it possible, however, for Greece to sign even a non-aggression and arbitration pact with Italy unless triangle of pacts is completed by one between Greece and Turkey. His policy is one of appeasement; he wishes time to efface Greek feelings of hostility towards Italy, which are not unjustified in the light of past events, and meanwhile to cultivate gradually more friendly and even cordial relations with Italy. He could justify to Greek public opinion a complete triangle of pacts. He doubts, however, whether public opinion would be behind him if he signed with Italy alone, while opinion abroad would interpret this as meaning that Greece had been drawn into Italy's orbit, however anodyne the pact might be.

E 2531/560/44 — No. 52

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 11.)

(No. 221.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of Smyrna despatch No. 47, dated the 19th April, 1928, respecting local conditions.

Constantinople, May 10, 1928.

Enclosure in No. 52.

Consul General Morgan to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 47.)

Sir, *Smyrna, April 19, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that in travelling from Panderma to Smyrna on the 18th April I overheard a conversation between a Turkish merchant of Smyrna and a staff officer of high rank who was accompanying Ali Said Pasha to Balikesser, where the latter commands an army corps. The following points in the conversation appeared to me to be of interest.

2. The officer had enquired about the situation in Smyrna as the result of the recent fire and that trade was extremely bad, that there was [illegible] stress there and that many bankruptcies had taken place. The officer was somewhat astonished and suggested that the situation would improve when the means of communication in Turkey were perfected and Turkey's products, which were cheaper than similar foreign products, were thus made easily available for the Smyrna market.

3. The merchant objected that easier means of communication were no remedy for the state of affairs at Smyrna. He pointed out that Turkey produced coal and Greece produced none and yet owing to the cost of labour at Smyrna being twice as high as that at Piraeus and Turkish taxes on exports being higher than those in Greece, the cost of coal to ships at Smyrna was 2 liras higher per ton than the cost at Piraeus, with the result that steamers bunkered at Piraeus instead of Smyrna. He went on to say that having occasion to purchase a number of fruit trees he had preferred to buy trees from Italy rather than similar trees from Balikesser, firstly, because they were delivered at Smyrna cheaper here, and, secondly, because he was sure that the quality of the Italian trees would be up to standard, whereas he could obtain no guarantee as regards the quality of the Balikesser product. The merchant and the officer then discussed the question of schools in Turkey. They agreed that the ignorance of the ordinary Turk was profound, although the officer made a reservation to the effect that nothing was required in a soldier but courage and tenacity. They agreed that the money raised for schools was being rather employed to set up a few palaces for

education rather than a greater number of simpler school buildings. The lack of teachers, consequent on the small pay offered them, was also regretted by both conversationalists.

4. Subsequent to the departure of the staff officer at Balikesser, the merchant continued his conversation with an employee of the Ishbankassi. He first of all expressed his satisfaction that Balikesser was now absolutely Turkish, and that all the trades, great and small, were in the hands of Turks. He regretted that in some of the eastern districts of Turkey the Turkification of every form of trade and industry was not yet complete. At Castamouni, for instance, no Turks had yet been found capable of carrying on the small trades formally exercised by Christians, with the result that it was impossible to get horses properly shod or trousers fit to wear. He himself had been forced to employ some Armenians there, and he heard that at El Aziz the owners of a factory had been put to the necessity of employing Armenians.

5. His satisfaction at the Turkification of the country again found expression near Ak Hissar, where, on viewing a beautiful prospect of countless rich vineyards, numberless olive trees and other marks of the industry of the former Christian population, he recalled to the compartment at large that this district had formerly been called the "Vale of Gaours," and it was happily so no longer.

6. Incidentally I would here interpolate that I saw every sign that the loss to agriculture consequent on the deportation of the former Christian population of the districts between Smyrna and Panderma and between Smyrna and Cushak is now being repaired by the present Turkish population. I assume that this is composed of Moslem refugees from Christian countries, and they seem to me to be of a hard-working type and to know their business.

7. As the merchant had opposed the staff officer's notion of better means of communication being a panacea of Smyrna's commercial troubles, so he now proceeded in conversation with the employee of the Ishbankassi to rebut that bank on the ground that it was unnecessary and likely to be useless rather than helpful to commerce. He confessed that he preferred the old established banks to the [illegible] Ottoman Bank in Smyrna. However, came under his condemnation in that they refused to advance any money to commerce or industry in Smyrna except at the exorbitant rate of 9 per cent. interest (the legal rate) and 1 per cent. per month "commission." He felt that these terms were too high; on the other hand, Smyrna was absolutely in need of money and must take it at any price.

8. The merchant next passed to the Ihsan Bey trial. He regretted that the sentences passed had been so heavy, and suggested that they should be reduced or quashed. He expressed the fear that internal trouble would follow as a result of the decisions of the High Court. He was careful to add that he himself would support the present Government, and was emphatic in stating that he hoped it would remain in power for twenty or twenty-five years. But he feared that if internal trouble did result, the Italians would at once be at Adalia—a calamity from which he hoped to be preserved.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN

E 2532/128/44] No. 53.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 14.)

(No. 242)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 9, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 212 of the 1st instant, one or two further points in the speeches of various Ministers during the discussion of the budget seem worth noting.

2. Ismet Pasha, in touching upon foreign affairs, remarked that the Government was doing its utmost to remove all outstanding differences and added, with an eye on France and Greece, that where in spite of the greatest goodwill the Government had failed it must be concluded that the country's vital interests would admit of no further sacrifices. Unfortunately, he continued, the only means of ensuring order at home and freedom from foreign attack lay in the maintenance of armed forces, a principle which is tenaciously held by the realists of Angora, as is shown by 10 per cent. of this year's budget being given to the Ministry of Defence. For the rest, the burden of the Prime Minister's speech was that if the Government's programme was modest, it was because it had to cut its coat according to its cloth. The budget total, however, just exceeds the not inconsiderable figure of £20 million.

3. The Minister of the Interior foreshadowed legislation to deal with the establishment of immigrants. He has been at some pains to deal with this scandal, which originated when some half million Moslems suffered great privations on arrival from Greece in 1924, and has continued, in a lesser degree, owing to the failure of the authorities to give immigrants a permanent title to the "abandoned" properties distributed among them. Shukri Kaya Bey claimed that the total number of immigrants who had arrived was nearly a million. Even allowing for those who have come from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Syria, Cyprus, &c., half a million would probably be a truer estimate. The Minister admitted that the Government was doing what it could to attract Moslems from neighbouring countries. He was fully justified in his boast about internal security, for it is one of the great achievements of the Angora régime that the country was never so free from brigandage and robbery. But this must be understood with a reservation as to the eastern vilayets. About that troubled district Shukri Kaya Bey made the usual assertion that all was quiet and added that the few Kurdish chiefs who had not already done so were gradually coming in and submitting. In conclusion, the Minister uttered a warning which seemed to be intended as an explanation of the recent arrest of a few Communists at Smyrna, at once and here, namely, that no modern State could allow aliens or bodies of aliens enjoying its hospitality to act in defiance of its laws.

4. Foreigners being careful to indulge little in litigation nowadays, information as to what goes on in the judicial world is sparse, and some of the statements of the Minister of Justice were consequently not uninteresting. The great difficulty has been that the judges have been in many cases too incompetent to administer the new [illegible]. Minister claimed that whereas a year ago only three judges out of five were [illegible] the proportion was four out of five. Legal [illegible] was [illegible] and, from all one hears, the quality of the [illegible] climbing [illegible] forty years. One big reservation must be made, however, [illegible] at the independence of the Bench is still a long way from that point [illegible] can be expected to give a decision against the interests of the [illegible]. Procedure, if not so rapid as Mahmud Essad Bey claimed, [illegible] than it was before the war. The system of [illegible] powers in small matters ("juges de paix") is being actively extended, [illegible] Minister's ambition to have one such judge in every village.

5. The Minister of Education may be uncultured, but, like his colleague of Justice, he is an active man. School buildings are certainly springing up all over the country, and the appearance of the boys and girls who have come in public processions of our country excursions, is far from unpleasing. What they learn is another matter, but the Government policy is probably a better one than the turbulent hegira of teachers, the Minister claimed, have increased from 327,000 in 1923 to 423,000 to-day, but he admitted that the number of children who get no schooling is still greater than the number of those who are taught. The great difficulty is the lack of teachers, and there is no doubt that the Government is developing its training schools and its whole educational system as fast as it can.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2533/18/44 No. 54

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 14.)

(No. 247)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 9, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 212 of the 1st May, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of the speech made before the Grand National Assembly by the Minister of Public Works, summarising the activities and projects of his Ministry,* the following points are worthy of notice:—

Railways.

2. The programme of construction is already known to you.

3. The repurchase of the Anatolian Railways from the German group appears to be as far off as ever, and it may be doubted whether the Turkish Government is

* Not printed

serious in its negotiations or prepared—even if it is able to do so—to purchase the existing lines. This must surely affect Turkey's chances of obtaining financial help from Germany in case of a serious crisis, though at present German capital of a somewhat speculative character seems ready enough to embark upon construction schemes in this country.

4. The Sam[illegible]—Sivas line is being constructed and is said to be open to traffic as far as Amasia. This line was to have been built between Tourhal and Cesarea by the now defunct Belgian group, and though part of it is said to have been parcelled out to a Turkish group, its cession for the remainder has been granted. Nevertheless, the Minister roundly asserts that the work will be completed by 1930. The earth work along approximately 100 kilom. of the Kotahia-Balukesso line is reported by the Minister to have been completed and Emin Bey expects this length of [illegible] to be open to traffic by the end of the present financial year. This line [illegible] the only one in the Belgian group, and the Turkish Government is evidently well satisfied with the work [illegible] has accordingly asked for a German Railway Commission to be sent out to suggest the best method of working the Turkish railways efficiently and economically.

As for the Swedish group constructing the Eregli-Angora and Kelkit-Diarbekir lines, though these have made sensible progress particularly towards Diarbekir, the cost of construction is so far in excess of original estimates that the group comes in for considerable criticism both by the Minister himself and by [illegible] Bey. As the original *tracé* has been changed and [illegible] apparently [illegible] section of embankments, cuttings and bridges is seemingly [illegible] the difficulties of the mountainous stretch between Angora and the [illegible] road is not surprising. The actual [illegible] engineering work was hastily and perhaps negligently carried out.

6. A pontoon ferry across the Bosphorus and a [illegible] which Foreign and Smyrna and Ottoman always complete this part of the programme.

7. A programme of road construction is to be submitted [illegible] Grand National Assembly and Behdj Bey claims to have built 800 kilom. of new roads as well as repairing over 1,000 kilom. of existing roads during the past year. It is at least a question whether the Minister should have realised that without good feeder-roads railways are of little use, but it may be doubted whether this [illegible] will ever be carried into effect. As late as the autumn of last year the [illegible] leading from the Sea of Marmara at Modania to the capital, which were [illegible] by the local authorities as 'chaussées,' were so deplorable that it was far easier to [illegible] the rails than to use the roads themselves. In fact, all wheeled traffic had ceased to use the road, where for long stretches could not be identified and had not even been leveled or graded. In these conditions traffic must in any case with the autumn rains and cannot open again till the snows have melted and the earth has so that the peasant is unable to reach the railway for a considerable portion of the year.

8. Public works for helping cotton growing, agriculture in the [illegible] and the loading of the fruit crop at Amassia, re-establishment [illegible] Lake Van and other similar plans are apparently to be carried out if [illegible] permit.

9. But, as Emin Bey, the Deputy for [illegible], recently remarked, "All [illegible] is money," and yet again: "Unfortunately foreigners have not brought us money," by which the eminent Deputy implied that the Swedish and other groups wish to bleed the country rather than bring it succour.

10. At first sight this appears an unreasonable [illegible] in view of the credit terms on which the lines are being built by the Swedish and German groups, but I am making enquiries as to the truth of the charges against the Swedes.

I have stated in my despatch under reference Turkey's present relations with the majority of its foreign contractors or concessionaires are not a happy augury of more favours to come in the way of influx of reputable foreign capital, and there appears to be a growing feeling among Turkish Deputies and others that without this help the country cannot put through its present ambitious schemes of railway construction and public works. Numerous commissions composed of Deputies are preparing to leave for various parts of Europe as soon as the National Assembly closes. Thus the natural desire of the party chiefs to escape the heat and discomfort of the capital in summer can be happily combined with the task of sounding the European money markets on the [illegible].

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2547 43 44

No. 55.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (*Received May 14*)

(No. 229.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 10, 1928.*

I HAVE had the honour to receive your despatch No. 253 of the 27th April last asking for my observations on a recent conversation between the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs and Sir Eric Drummond in regard to Turco-Greek relations.

2. I presume that what is desired is my local view of the probable attitude of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, should M. Michalacopoulos follow Sir E. Drummond's suggestion to ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint successor to M. Widding. To such a question I can only reply that we are still a long way from a final refusal by the Turks of the proposals made by M. Michalacopoulos for the liquidation of the Mixed Commission. True, the situation at the present moment is distinctly confused, and Tewfik Rushdi, though very [illegible] is not very present. He has also been laid up with lumbago these last few days and has not been visible. All, therefore, than I can do is to put the situation, [illegible] as I further study, see it here.

3. I gather from the record of M. Michalacopoulos's remarks that what has taken the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs was his feeling that the Turkish Government had gone back on its previous readiness to liquidate the Mixed Commission, for I can well understand that nothing would be more likely to [illegible] the Greek Government that the Turks were in earnest in their professed desire to come to a definite agreement with the Greeks than the abolition of that body. Its [illegible] [illegible] with M. Dendramis and Comnenos de Lara to preside, verge on [illegible].

4. The basic fact seems to me to be this. The questions which are the *raison d'être* of the Mixed Commission—exchange of populations, restoration of property, &c.—are so hopelessly tangled that it is really not physically possible to carry out [illegible] Turco-Greek Convention of the 1st December, 1926. This is the danger and [illegible] of the [illegible] Governments alike and I expect that both of them would be prepared to consider the obvious solution of abandoning the attempt and replacing it by an agreement whereby each Government would [illegible] compensate its own nationals. Unfortunately, there are the £700,000 or [illegible] by the Great Government to good any difference which the final balance-sheet might show was due to Turkey. From the day that His Majesty's Government [illegible] to the [illegible] agreement whereby this sum was made available for the Greek Government, the Turkish Government meant to get it into the Turkish Treasury. If Greece would pay it over, she might have an agreement and obtain the dissolution of the Mixed Commission to-morrow. Here is the crux. The Greeks maintain, possibly rightly, that it is not at all sure that a true financial sheet would not show that, so far from paying money over to Turkey, Greece ought to receive it. But the Turkish claimants for compensation for property now in Greek hands include many Deputies and others of influence, who must be placated before the Grand National Assembly will ratify any fresh settlement that the two Foreign Ministers may agree upon.

5. Moreover, Tewfik Rushdi has difficulties of a more domestic nature. There are [illegible] to his post, of whom the two most formidable are the present Ministers of the Interior and of Finance, and both of them, especially the latter, are, I gather, making things as difficult as possible for his Excellency in the Council of Ministers, hoping that failure of the negotiations will entail his fall. The Foreign Minister is undoubtedly nervous about his position, and he has confessed to my Italian colleague that if the Italian pact which entails an agreement with the Greeks does not come off, he will have to go. The Greeks probably have a shrewd inkling of the state of affairs and think that by holding out they can force Tewfik Rushdi to give way. M. Orsini Baroni, who went up to Angora yesterday evening, told me in the morning that he was not at all hopeful over the situation. A few days [illegible] the difficulties seemed to have been surmounted and he thought everything was going well, but there had been a sudden hitch, the cause of which was unknown to him, but apparently came from the Greek side, and he was going to Angora to see if he could not help to smooth things out. He said there were three places which always tried to prevent Turkey from settling down too comfortably—Moscow, Berlin, and, to a lesser degree, Paris, and it might be any one of these that had

succeeded in throwing grit into the machine. He said that in itself the proposed pact with Turkey was of no direct importance to Italy, but M. Mussolini wished it to go through as he felt that it was all to the general interest of Europe. There was no question of Italy receiving any special advantages in return. In the first place, the Assembly would never agree to Italy or indeed any other Power having a privileged position, and, secondly, Italy had nothing to ask for except to have the same opportunities as any other country. Why then my Italian colleague's anxiety to push things (he dislikes going to Angora even more than I do)? I think the answer is first of all that despite all professions of indifference and general benevolence, failure to achieve the pact of the Montreux interview would be an unsuccess for which Mussolini himself would be the scapegoat, and secondly, it would be a welcome heartening of the failing spirits of Moscow.

6. To-day I had a long visit from the Yugoslav Minister. His theory is quite different. Last June Tewfik Rushdi offered Belgrade a Balkan Locarno, which the rulers of a Balkan *bloc* Belgrade, Bucharest and Angora would guarantee the peace and the Orient. Prince Regent Paul, the soul of Yugoslav policy to the great detriment of the latter *hinterland* and tearful of entanglements which had no interest for Serbs of Croats or Slovenes, said what a beautiful thing it was, as much as you will, but allies are what we want to preserve us. What said M. Tchitch to our chief at Belgrade? Turkey hoped through us to compose the Balkans. We could respond as we could [illegible] Turkey. It is through her [illegible] that we [illegible] Russia. Paul-Boncour agreed but to Greece and Turkey [illegible] Pact. Tewfik Bey asked that the [illegible] M. Tchitch replied that his interests [illegible] must not [illegible] so [illegible] that wanted permission [illegible] or otherwise to start a Young Turk Committee in Turkey. He knew that an Albanian ex-Minister had been in Constantinople of late and had had interviews with the Italian Ambassador, and he had also a list of the Russian-hosted members of the Committee. My own view was that Turkey probably knew too much from the [illegible] of Bulgarian Communist [illegible] and that her own treatment of Russian Communists was proof that she meant to keep [illegible] to herself.

7. But though I think the apprehensions [illegible] Yugoslavia [illegible] Angora, I equally think [illegible] that Tewfik Rushdi would have [illegible] Balkan *bloc* with Turkey [illegible] to seek the doubtful [illegible] of a pact of non-aggression with Italy.

8. The considerations [illegible] to Greece and Turkey in weighing the proposed pacts seem to me as follows:—

9. Italy allays Turkish suspicion, gives Yugoslavia to think, hopes to escape [illegible] getting involved in a Turco-Greek conflict, and counts [illegible] influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

10. Greece sees a better position [illegible] Salonica, real access to the Aegean Sea with Yugoslavia, and need not measure her naval needs by the standard of efficiency to which the "Geben" may have to attain.

11. Turkey lays the bogey of Italian designs on Asia Minor, can but rest of her navy with a single eye on possible developments in the Black Sea, may hope to get a final settlement of the difficulties with Greece which the Mixed Commission was called to solve; may find the Yugoslavs more ready to pay for Turkish properties and for the world [illegible] more merit in the eyes of Moscow, as an apostle of the latest methods of civilisation.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Rome, Belgrade and Athens.

I have &c.
GEORGE CLERK

[C 3698/45/19] No. 56

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 15.)

(No. 13.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May 14, 1928.*

ATHENS telegram No. 76.
Following received from Mr. Knox at Angora, No. 39, 12th May:—

"Your telegram No. 33.

"Italian Ambassador tells me that his negotiation is complete, but that there is no question of signature until Turco-Greek negotiations are concluded. He hinted, however, that fear of Italy leaving them in the lurch is the best cement for Greeks to get on with the negotiations, the delay in which he believes to be entirely due to Greek chicaneries. These he ascribes in part to a native instinct for bargaining and in part to French promptings. Greek Minister, whom I saw subsequently, tells me that after a month of Turkish tergiversations his last interview with Minister for Foreign Affairs and left him with impression that [illegible] the end was in sight. Tewfik Rushdi will receive him this evening [illegible] consulting Cabinet, but he is no longer so sanguine as he was and fears that Tewfik Rushdi would again have changed his ground.

"Greek Minister infers from Italian Ambassador in thinking that agreement to refer outstanding [illegible] to arbitration need not hold up signature of non-aggression pact, since execution of any arbitral award in favour of Turkey would be assured by existence of Greek deposit of £500,000."

(Repeated to Rome and Athens.)

[C 3752 45/19] No. 57

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 14.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, May 16, 1928.*

My despatch No. 229 of 10th May.

My German colleague, who returned from Angora this morning, told me and United States Ambassador that, although information is not definite, he hears from good sources that present situation of Turco-Greek-Italian pacts is as follows:—

Turco-Italian Pact is ready for signature.
Agreement has been reached with Greeks on following basis:—

Successor to Mr. Widding, member of the Exchange Commission, who recently resigned, will examine question of £500,000 and decide within six months if the whole of that amount or a lesser sum is to be awarded to the Turks. If his decision is not given within six months the whole amount goes to Turkey.
Question of exchangeables is to be dealt with by mixed commission.
Question of "établis" will be referred to The Hague Tribunal.
Both Powers agree to a limit beyond which naval construction will not go.

Agreement on these lines is now before Council of Ministers, and if accepted by it will be followed by conclusion of Turco-Greek Pact.

As my German colleague is not absolutely sure of accuracy of above, he asks that it may be treated as strictly confidential.

(Repeated to Rome and Athens.)

[C 3877/45/19] No. 58

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 20.)

(No. 13.)
(Telegraphic.) *Angora, May 20, 1928.*

My telegram No. 14 from Constantinople.

I gather from my Italian colleague that information given by the German Ambassador, though incorrect in some details, fairly represented general situation a few days ago. Serious hitch has subsequently occurred. Turks proposed that purely

neutral body consisting of present Spanish and Norwegian members of Exchange Commission and of new member who succeeds M Widding should have full powers to decide question of exchangeables. The Greek Minister here agreed, but the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs has so far refused

Italian Ambassador does not understand reason for refusal, and keeps saying to me that Greece, if not careful, will miss her market and be left out in the cold, and that it is high time "some" Power at Athens—*i.e.*, His Majesty's Government—should speak seriously to the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs. I have not risen to my colleague's flies.

(Repeated to Rome and Athens)

[E 2651/127/44] No. 59.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 234.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 14, 1928.*

IN the third paragraph of my despatch No. 222 of the 9th instant I alluded to the arrest of certain Communists at Smyrna. I have now the honour to enclose a copy of a despatch upon that subject which I have received from His Majesty's consul-general there.

2 The offence of these persons seems, as Mr. Morgan remarks, merely to have been opposition to the ruling party, but after all that, or even less than that, has been treated as a capital offence before now. The Government is keeping a very strict eye on anything which might develop into a disturbing movement. Whereas in recent years Communists have worked up mild celebrations on May-day in Constantinople, this year, as at Smyrna, there were none.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 59.

Consul-General Morgan to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 41.)

Sir, *Smyrna, May 7, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that, according to the local press, nine Bulgarians, headed by one Muhi-ed-din, a Moslem, have been arrested in Smyrna for communistic activities. They have been interrogated, and, in spite of their denial of the charges of communistic propaganda made against them, are to be kept under arrest.

2 On the 1st May, while the interrogation of these Communists was proceeding, it was discovered that certain workmen had put up in three railway stations in the suburbs of Smyrna posters containing "communistic" propaganda. They were traced and arrested, and are said to have given as a motive for their action their desire to change the present method of electing Deputies for the Grand National Assembly and to substitute for it a system whereby Deputies would be elected directly by their constituents.

3. From this one would gather that "communism" in Turkey merely means "opposition" to the party at present in power.

4. The 1st May passed off without any demonstration in Smyrna. The authorities had previously issued an order that workmen should work on this day.

I have, &c.
JAMES MORGAN.

[E 2657/128/44] No. 60.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 239.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 16, 1928.*

WITH reference to Mr. Knox's despatch No. 185 of the 9th April last, I have the honour to report that the Grand National Assembly, on the 7th instant, passed a law of amnesty for Kurdish rebels provided they submit within three months in the vilayets of Diarbekir, El-Aziz, Van, Bitlis, Hekkiari, Mardin, Urfa, Sert, Bayezid and Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and in the kazas of Behesni, Hinis and Kighi. The law, that is to say, applies to almost the whole of the disaffected Kurdish area.

2 This step has been foreshadowed for some time, and considerable hopes seem to be entertained of it as part of the new policy of conciliation. The Inspector-General, Ibrahim Tali Bey, is now reported to be making a tour of inspection on the southern fringe of his district, through Mardin, Midiat and Jezireh. It will be more impressive when he is able to penetrate further northwards.

3 I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 2658/128/44] No. 61.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 241.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 17, 1928.*

AT the end of my despatch No. 194 of the 18th April last I referred to the impeachment before the High Court of Ali Jenani Bey, the late Minister of Commerce. This trial has now come to an end. Ali Jenani Bey has been found guilty, not of misappropriation but of applying to unauthorised purposes the half million Turkish pounds given to his Department for the purchase of grain in 1925 in order to keep prices down.

2 It would seem that Ali Jenani advanced over £T. 170,000 of this sum to friends of his who were setting up stores at Adabazaar and made other advances to officials in his Department and friends. No proof was produced that during these irregular proceedings Ali Jenani diverted money to his own pocket, but the impression left on the mind by what has been made public is that this is not unlikely. In any case he was sentenced to a nominal month's imprisonment, which he is explicitly exempted from undergoing, and is ordered to refund the £T. 170,000 and other advances with costs. I gather that he accepts this verdict cheerfully, realising no doubt that he has got off lightly. Those who guard the young republic probably feel that her new taste for moral integrity has been satisfied without the complete immolation of their friend and colleague, and the public at large must be nearly as relieved as the twenty-one weary judges themselves that the serio-comedy of the specially constituted High Court has come to an end by its definite dissolution.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2641/843/65] No. 62

Sir O. Russell to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 69.)

Sir, *British Legation to the Holy See, Rome, May 17, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 65 of the 8th May, I have the honour to report that, on the occasion of the Armenian synod now being held in Rome, the Holy See has announced that the exceptional method of government of the Armenian Church which has prevailed for some years past has been brought to an end. It was that the Visitor Apostolic, Mgr. Naslian who has practically ruled as Patriarch during the residence of Boghos Terzian proper, Mgr. Terzian, is relieved of his duties, and that Mgr. Terzian assumes control and undivided jurisdiction over his patriarchate.

2. It is not stated why this step has been taken. It may well be with the object of putting the ecclesiastical organisation of the Armenian Church on a regular basis. It could hardly mean that Mgr. Terzian is contemplating a return to Constantinople, unless in the meantime there has been a change of attitude towards him on the part both of the Turkish authorities and of a considerable part of his own flock.

I have, &c.
ODO RUSSELL.

[E 2656/18/44] No. 63.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 21.)

(No. 243.)
Sir, *Constantinople, May 17, 1928.*

IN my despatch No. 212 of the 1st May last, reference was made to the dispute which has arisen between the Turkish Government and the Swedish group in regard to the cost of the railway lines which this group has undertaken to construct.

2. In spite of the anxiety of the Turkish Government to avoid a repetition of the failure of the Belgian contract, the divergence from the original terms of the contract in the estimate of cost now presented by the Swedish group is so great that no agreement appears to be possible except by a curtailment of the programme of work to be carried out.

3. It is unnecessary to examine at any great length the causes of the present difficulty.

4. The case for the Swedish group appears to be that the original estimate of £T. 110,000,000 was made by the Turkish Government and not by themselves, and that since the contract was signed the following factors have given rise to a modification in this estimate:—

(a.) The Angora Eregli line was to be a narrow-gauge line, but the Turkish Government subsequently asked the group to construct a normal-gauge. This modification necessitates an increase in the cost of the permanent way and of the rolling-stock and bridges.
(b.) The original *tracé* of the line was changed.
(c.) The Turkish General Staff have insisted, in the interests of rapid transport, that the lines should be as short as possible, with the result that the number of tunnels and bridges has increased enormously, besides adding to the difficulty and cost of the construction of the permanent way itself.
(d.) The cost of the harbour works required by the Turkish Government in the Port of Heraclea is £T. 10,800,000, and not £T. 2,000,000 as in the original estimate.

5. The Turkish Government decline to accept a revision of the financial programme which more than doubles the price which they contracted to pay, whilst the annual charge thus imposed on the Treasury by the revised estimate is so heavy that the Government would find it difficult, if not impossible, to meet the sums required. The Swedes have proposed, as an alternative, that the financial side of the contract should remain unchanged, but that the work to be carried out should be cut down by carrying the Angora–Eregli line from Angora to Filios only and the Keller–Diarbekir line only as far as Ismet Pasha, 100 kilom. short of Arghana.

6. These modifications might save the situation from a financial point of view, but they appear to destroy the economic value of the new railways, as if they are accepted the Heraclea coal-mines and the Arghana Copper Mines still remain isolated from effective means of land transport.

7. Negotiations are still proceeding between the Turkish Government and the concessionary group, but no agreement has yet been reached.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[C 3981/45/19] No. 64.

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 24.)

(No. 76.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Rome, May 24, 1928.*

THE Italian Government, from what Signor Grandi tells me, are considerably concerned in regard to the probable return to power at Athens of M. Venizelos. Negotiations for an Italo-Greek Pact are, according to him, now "in the air." The Italian Government would wait to see what course of policy M. Venizelos intended to pursue, and in the meantime strictest orders had been issued to prefects not to allow any attacks upon him in the Italian press. Italo-Turkish Pact, which had been delayed for the sake of Greece, was becoming an urgent matter in view of Bolshevik intrigues at Angora against it, and he thought that whatever happened with Greece this latter pact would have to be signed within the next few weeks. The attitude of the Italian Government towards M. Venizelos appeared to me, I said, a wise one. I thought it unlikely from what I knew of that statesman that, whatever his attitude towards Italy might have been in the past, he would be willing to refuse proffered Italian friendship.

[E 2707/42/44] No. 65.

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir G. Clerk (Constantinople)

(No. 91)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 24, 1928.*

THE Turkish Ambassador came to see me on the 22nd May as he desired to explain the Turkish point of view on the latest developments in the negotiations between the Turkish Government and the foreign bondholders on the subject of the Ottoman Public Debt. A copy of a statement issued by the Turkish Embassy is enclosed.

2. As it appeared, the counsellor of the French Embassy had called at this Department on the 19th May, and, under instructions from his Government, had expressed the hope that His Majesty's Government would instruct your Excellency to join with your French, Italian and German colleagues in pressing the Turkish Government to meet the bondholders in this matter. M. Cambon was told in reply that His Majesty's Government had regarded this question from the first as being primarily the concern of the bondholders, and that, although the matter was one for the consideration of the Treasury, it was unlikely that it would prove possible to issue any instructions to His Majesty's Ambassador in Turkey without a direct request from the bondholders.

3. I accordingly informed Ferid Bey that His Majesty's Government were being pressed to intervene on the one side or the other—now to secure acceptance, at another time to secure rejection of this or that proposal. They did not wish to intervene in the matter at all. The question was one for settlement between the parties, as had been made clear to the Turkish Government from the first.

4. But simple adjournment of the first payment for a year was not a reasonable proposal. Why did not the Turkish Government, whilst explaining the impossibility of making a payment this June, offer to make two payments next June? This would meet the Turkish difficulty and yet be a proposal which the bondholders might be ready to accept. I expressly stated that I had no authority to speak for them, and did not know the result of their meeting on the 21st May. What I insisted upon was that it was not fair to ask them, at the last moment, to sacrifice altogether the payment due to be made this year under the agreement, which had been for them an important if not an essential element of the agreement. Obviously the Turks had the money—their only difficulty was that they had not yet got authority to pay it out.

I am, &c.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

Enclosure in No. 65

Extract from the "Times" of May 22, 1928.

THE OTTOMAN DEBT: TURKISH EXPLANATION OF THE DELAY

THE Turkish Embassy issues the following:—

"In consequence of the adhesion of the delegates of the bondholders of the Ottoman Debt to the proposal formerly made by the Turkish Government, an agreement was arrived at last week on the question of the settlement of the coupons. But the bondholders' delay in accepting the Turkish Government's offer now justifies a slight modification of the dates for making the payments.

"As provided in the draft agreement, the convention will only become final and compulsory after ratification by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and a period of three months has been laid down for the purpose of this examination. The Turkish Assembly has now practically terminated its annual sitting and will not meet again before November next. The Turkish Government cannot, therefore, carry out in June 1928 the engagements which it will assume under the convention, if this latter were adopted in its present form.

"It is in order to remedy this situation which is due to the delay in arriving at the agreement that the Turkish Government has suggested to the bondholders' delegates that it would be prepared to sign the draft agreement on the condition that they consented to the dates for making the payments being deferred by a year."

[E 2787/42/44] No. 66.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 255.)

Sir, *Angora, May 22, 1928.*

AT the official dinner given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the King and Queen of Afghanistan last night, Tevfik Rushdi Bey told me that he had already instructed Ferid Bey to explain fully to you the situation in regard to the settlement of the Ottoman debt, but that he wished to repeat to me his assurance that it was not lack of goodwill or of desire to have the question settled, but personal obstacles for which he was blameless, which had prevented the final signature of the agreement.

2. His Excellency said that he had waited six months for the negotiators in Paris to come to terms, and that he had consistently pointed out that, if to which a provisional agreement was reached, it must be communicated to Parliament for its ratification in the sanction of the Grand National Assembly before the session closed at the end of this month. Unfortunately, when the negotiators had at last come to terms there was already little enough time available, and a few modifications the Turkish Government had desired had caused still further delays, which now made it out of the question that the Assembly could give the subject the careful consideration it had wished before the close of the present session.

3. The practical result was that the bondholders would have to wait another year before getting any interest on their coupons, for this year's budget was now closed and could not admit of any further changes.

4. I have never had any doubt but that the object of the Turkish Government has all along been to put off for as long as possible the fateful day when the money will have to be found, and I do not think that Tevfik Rushdi's excuses, though they may salve his own conscience, matter much one way or the other. All he wants is to establish a case to meet charges of deliberate protraction, or even bad faith, on the part of the Turkish negotiators.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

[N 2858/2/97] No. 67.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 256.)

Sir, *Angora, May 22, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the official translation of the speeches exchanged between the President of the Turkish Republic and the King of Afghanistan at the State dinner on the 20th instant.

2. It has been stated for some time that the Ghazi was attaching particular importance to the speech he was to make on this occasion, as it was to contain, for the benefit of the sister nation, the essence of those principles on which his own political faith was based.

3. What in fact it amounts to is a reminder that Afghanistan must be ready, if need be to shed her last drop of blood in defence of her independence, and a call to the King to emulate the courage and determination of the Ghazi in forcing his country along the path of progress. But Mustafa Kemal takes care, while dwelling on the brotherhood of Turk and Afghan, to emphasise the fact that Afghanistan is Asiatic and Turkey European.

4. Nor are offers of direct assistance in the struggle upward conspicuous in the Ghazi's speech, and his Excellency is careful to limit them "dans la mesure de ses moyens."

5. The President's allusion to the geographical situation of Afghanistan and the consequent serious and delicate political conditions of the country, and the direct reference to the Hindu Kush taken in conjunction with recent articles in the "Milliet" on the Egyptian crisis (see my despatch No. 240 of the 16th May—might seem to give a distinctly anti-British tone to the speech. Possibly M. Suritz has read it with pleasure on that score, but I am not altogether prepared to accept such an interpretation. The Ghazi was stating a truism in pointing out that Afghanistan lies between two great and powerful countries and has therefore a difficult course to steer, and the mention of the Hindu Kush may have been made for the sake of a round period, as any thing Moscow is keen to see published with the greatest trend of Turkish policy, rather than to Ghazi would avoid saying anything certain to increase a temporary soreness. Mustafa Kemal is in both cases, in Egypt and Afghanistan alike, saying, in effect, "Look at me. If you want to be free and independent, it is no good talking about it, you must do like me, fight for it." The fact that in one case altogether, and in the other partly, Great Britain is the obstacle, is an accident for which the Ghazi is not responsible. It does not affect his own relations with Great Britain, with whom he has settled his own particular differences, and his attitude and language would be the same were the obstructing Power France or the State of Monaco.

6. I do not mean that the Ghazi is actively pro-British, but I believe that his policy is at present steadily set to reaching, if possible, a close and good understanding with us and the Western Powers, as against the rival policy, which has its influential adherents in this country, of combination with Russia and Germany.

7. To the student of history, perhaps the most interesting feature of both speeches will be in the fact that in neither of them is there one word of Islam.

8. I shall have the honour to address to you a general report when the Royal visit is ended, which will not be before the departure of this week's messenger.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 67.

Bulletin du 21 Mai 1928.

(Traduction.)

ANGORA 21 (A.A.).—Le "Hakimiet-i-Milliet" (Mahmoud Bey) consacre son éditorial à souhaiter la bienvenue aux Souverains afghans.

A cette occasion, il fait l'éloge des efforts déployés par Amanoullah Khan tant pour assurer l'indépendance de son pays que le progrès de son peuple dans tous les domaines de la civilisation.

Angora 21 (A.A.).—Le Président de la République (Ghazi Moustafa Kemal Pacha) a offert hier soir un grand banquet en l'honneur des Souverains afghans. Le Président de la République et le Roi Amanoullah Khan ont prononcé les discours suivants

Le discours du Président de la République :

"Sire,

"Le peuple turc, le Gouvernement de la République et moi-même sommes très heureux et très contents de voir votre Majesté et Sa Majesté la Reine en Turquie.

"Depuis le jour où vous avez quitté Kaboul, nous avons suivi avec un grand intérêt et une grande fierté les péripéties de votre voyage royal et avons attendu avec une vive impatience et un grand empressement votre arrivée chez nous.

"Aujourd'hui à Angora, notre capitale, je suis heureux de saluer personnellement au nom de la nation et de l'État turcs mon frère, Sa Majesté le Roi qui représente en sa noble et chère personne le peuple frère afghan—ainsi que Sa Majesté l'honorable Reine.

"Messieurs, les liens fraternels et les relations entre la nation afghane et nos yeux, turcs, pays d'origine est l'Asie centrale, sont très anciens. Les pages ineffaçables de l'histoire sont remplies du souvenir éternel de ces relations.

"Nous autres, fils modernes de deux peuples anciens et héroïques, devons lire avec un grand intérêt ces pages aptes à éveiller notre vigilance. Là on verra que le peuple afghan et le peuple turc marchèrent cote à côte, sur un même front, vers un même but, et qu'ils remportèrent des victoires et cueillirent des gloires communes.

"Ces faits immortels enregistrés par l'histoire montrent que nos aïeux afghans et turcs, qui nous légueront les sentiments et les liens de fraternité comme un héritage précieux commun, se succéderont aussi les uns aux autres pour fonder ainsi des États même dans d'autres contrées que celles comprises dans nos frontières politiques actuelles.

"Ainsi les peuples afghan et turc d'aujourd'hui sont les fils de grandes nations qui laissèrent des souvenirs et implantèrent des traditions au cours d'innombrables siècles et dans d'immenses continents.

"Sire, notre cher ami, l'histoire a des manifestations si curieuses. Les faits nous révèlent des coïncidences et des similitudes si significatives.

"Lorsqu'au milieu de l'Asie en 1919, votre Majesté, à la tête de l'héroïque peuple afghan, se jetait dans la lutte pour l'indépendance, nous aussi, à la même époque, ici, à l'est de l'Europe, luttions en nous faisant un rempart de nos poitrines pour riposter aux coups portés à notre indépendance et à notre liberté sous les yeux de tout l'univers civilisé.

"Il n'est pas nécessaire de parler des souffrances qu'on nous fit endurer, à vous comme à nous. Seulement, pour les peuples épris d'indépendance et de liberté, ces moments de souffrance, ces causes de souffrance, ces facteurs de souffrance, doivent être toujours présents à la mémoire comme autant de motifs de vigilance.

"Ne jamais tolérer, à n'importe quel prix et en échange de n'importe quoi, aucun préjudice ou aucune restriction à leur indépendance et à leur liberté, préserver, dans toute l'acception du mot, leur indépendance et leur liberté et pour cela (si c'est nécessaire) orner l'histoire du genre humain d'un exemple glorieux en répandant la dernière goutte de sang de son dernier citoyen : tel est le principe essentiel et vital pour les peuples qui ont saisi dans le fond de leur conscience la vraie nature, la large et universelle signification, la haute valeur de l'indépendance et de la liberté.

"Seuls les peuples qui sont prêts et aptes à tout instant à consentir tous les sacrifices pour l'application de ce principe peuvent être considérés comme constituant un groupe social digne de l'estime et du respect de l'humanité civilisée.

"La nation afghane et la nation turque, ces deux nations sœurs, ont effectivement prouvé qu'elles étaient de vraies adeptes de ce principe.

"Il faut rechercher le principal facteur qui affirme et fortifie les liens fraternels historiques du peuple afghan et du peuple turc dans le fait que, pour une existence digne et un idéal sublime, les deux peuples se sont attachés avec la même force et la même foi au principe d'indépendance et de liberté.

"On doit reconnaître aux peuples qui ont l'énergie, le mérite et les qualités nécessaires pour faire reconnaître au monde leur indépendance et leur dignité, la capacité de marcher avec des pas rapides et pleins de succès dans la voie de la civilisation.

"Il est vrai que dans un groupe social les us et coutumes, ainsi que les sentiments et conceptions enracinés avec le temps, ont de l'importance.

"A ce point de vue, les groupes sociaux exercent une influence presque impérieuse et dominatrice sur les individualités entreprenantes.

"Mais les peuples, dont les mérites et dispositions naturelles se sont élevés et développés, ne tardent pas, conduits et guidés par leurs fils éclairés qui s'inspirent des progrès actuels de la civilisation, à trouver le moyen de rattraper les retards provenant des occasions perdues dans le passé.

"Il n'y a pas de doute que de bonnes directives ont leur influence sur le groupe social et produisent de bons résultats.

"Sire ! Illustre Majesté, je vous prie de me permettre à cette occasion de dire une réalité que j'observe et que je suis avec beaucoup de satisfaction et d'admiration. Dès que votre Majesté s'est trouvée placée à la tête de la noble nation afghane, vous ne vous êtes pas contenté de réaliser l'indépendance complète de votre pays, mais vous avez commencé dans ce beau et généreux pays à relever et rendre à la vie, conformément aux progrès du jour, les villes et régions autrefois prospères, mais ayant subi les vicissitudes des temps.

"Vous avez réorganisé l'administration de votre pays ; vous avez réorganisé et fortifié à nouveau votre brave et héroïque armée ; dans l'instruction publique vous avez fait de grands pas ; dans la vie sociale vous avez montré d'élans sensibles.

"Toute cette activité et ces œuvres conscientes et lumineuses constituent une garantie que le moment où votre pays et votre nation atteindront la situation qu'ils méritent dans le domaine de la civilisation et de la prospérité ne tardera pas à venir.

"Sire ! J'apprécie combien votre travail et vos efforts dans la voie des réformes civilisatrices et rénovatrices exigent de calme et de tranquillité et je sais la toute sincérité que vous mettiez à en jouir. La réalité, la situation géographique de l'Afghanistan et, par conséquent, les conditions politiques de votre État sont importantes, sérieuses et délicates. L'histoire commande—quelles que soient la situation et les conditions dans lesquelles on se trouve au milieu de cette importance et délicatesse—de ne jamais perdre de vue ce fait, et même d'être toujours [illegible] général.

"Mais je dois déclarer immédiatement que l'Hindou-Kouch et la nature [illegible] et difficile de l'Afghanistan, de même que l'intelligence, la bravoure et l'héroïque preuves du peuple afghan, et surtout la haute personnalité de son distingué Souverain, constituent un monument qui se dresse avec force et d'une façon solide [illegible]

"Nous [illegible] sentiments cordiaux.

"Sire ! En ma qualité de chef de la nation turque, qui aime sincèrement votre personne, votre peuple et votre pays, je le déclare sincèrement, notre principal désir est de voir se réaliser sous peu votre entreprise, ayant pour but de faire progresser et de rehausser moralement et matériellement l'Afghanistan.

"Nous avons la conviction que votre succès est certain.

"Sous ce rapport, l'État turc s'empresse de remplir, dans la mesure de ses moyens, les devoirs et obligations qui incombent naturellement à un pays frère.

"Sa Majesté Amanoullah, Souverain valeureux de l'Afghanistan !

"Le soleil, qui commence à poindre des hauts horizons de l'avenir, est la fortune des peuples qui souffrent depuis des siècles.

"Il dépend des sons et de l'esprit de sacrifice des peuples et de leurs guides que cette fortune ne s'enveloppe plus désormais de nuages noirs.

"Que la fortune de l'élévation de l'Afghanistan, de son puissant Souverain et de sa très honorable Reine resplendisse !"

Le discours du Roi Amanoullah Khan

"Cher et magnanime frère,

"Je [illegible] plus retour l'infinie joie cordiale que je ressens à l'occasion de notre arrivée sur le sol cher de la Turquie et de notre entrevue avec votre distinguée personne et avec le peuple turc, notre frère. Ce sont là les impressions fraternelles du peuple afghan que je représente. Car, de vieux intérêts, la concordance et le cours d'évolution des coutumes et des procédés ont tellement entre-lié les attaches spirituelles et cordiales de ces deux nations braves et dévouées que nous n'aurions rien dit hors de propos si nous les comparions à deux corps de même âme et deux

[illegible]

des mêmes sentiments de tendresse. La nature, de son côté, fait dater de la même époque l'histoire de la nouvelle vie de ces deux nations. C'est-à-dire, au moment où, sous mes ordres, le peuple afghan se mettait à déployer de l'effort, ayant le même mot d'ordre, pour obtenir une vie glorieuse, la noble nation turque se soulevait bravement pour la lutte en vue de rentrer dans ses droits légitimes sous le guide de votre éminemment distinguée et sage personne. Ainsi qu'il en est des efforts nationaux qui, en aucun siècle, ne restent sans suite, les luttes de ces deux nations laborieuses ont donné des résultats pleins d'intérêts; et ces deux nations sont arrivées à prouver, devant le monde civilisé, leur droit à la vie. Nous sommes deux frères et collaborateurs, et nous avons des buts et des devoirs communs pour diriger le vaisseau des destinées futures de ces deux peuples frères et pour obtenir dans notre pays des progrès contemporains. Le peuple afghan est prêt, dans les limites de ses moyens, à accomplir les devoirs qui lui incombent au point de vue de la fraternité.

"Excellence, honorable Président de la République.

"Nous considérons, moi et mon cher peuple, avec des yeux pleins de satisfaction et de fierté, les progrès actuels que la chère Turquie a réalisés à la suite des peines que votre Excellence, modèle d'activité et d'énergie, a entreprises [illegible] jour. La nation afghane est fière de chaque pas que le noble peuple turc fait dans la voie du progrès et de l'élévation. Nous considérons, nos yeux pleins de gratitude et de reconnaissance, à quels hauts degrés du progrès vous avez élevé la Jeune-Turquie pendant les neuf années, de quelle nécessité vous l'avez entourée et comment vous avez obtenu le bonheur et la force de ce peuple héroïque. Je vous, moi, avec mes certitude et une conviction absolues, le brillant avenir de la Jeune-Turquie. Sachant que vous en êtes l'unique facteur, je ressens à votre égard, mon frère, un grand sentiment d'affection et une gratitude inviolable.

"M. le Président et valeureux Commandant du Peuple turc, moi et la Reine nous vous remercierons cordiaux pour les paroles pleines de sincérité de votre Excellence, qui indiquent de profonds sentiments fraternels et la bienveillance de la nation turque à mon égard et à l'égard de mon cher peuple, et pour vos appréciations sur mes services nationaux; et nous souhaitons le progrès et l'élévation de la chère nation turque, ainsi que la prolongation de la vie et le maintien de la santé de votre Excellence, qui est l'unique auteur de la Turquie."

[E 2802, 600/44] **No. 68**

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 29.)

(No. 16.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, May 28, 1928.*

TURCO-AFGHAN Treaty of Friendship and Economic Co-operation was signed at Angora on 25th May.

Provisions are as follows:—

Preamble.—Object of treaty is to consolidate still further relations established by treaty of 1921.

Article 1. Eternal peace and friendship.

Article 2. Each party to do its utmost to prevent aggression against the other party. In the event of war, the two parties to discuss situation in common.

Article 3. Neither party to participate in an alliance of any kind or in hostile action directed against the military security of the other.

Article 4. Further conventions to be concluded to provide assistance by each party in progress and development of the other.

Article 5. Turkey to provide legal, scientific and military specialists if desired by Turkey are [illegible] Afghans only.

Article 6. Most-favoured-nation treatment in regard to commerce and residence. Further conventions may be concluded to this end, and also consular, postal and extradition agreements.

Article 7. Apart from above stipulations, each party to be entirely free in regard to its relations with other Powers.

Article 8. Treaty drawn up in Turkish and Persian.

Article 9. Treaty to be ratified as soon as possible. Article 1 to last indefinitely; the remainder for ten years with possible extension for one further year.

Additional protocol provides for economic collaboration. This and questions of transport to be worked out by specialists.

Text by bag.

[C 4131/45/19] **No. 69.**

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 30.)

(No. 17.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Constantinople, May 30, 1928.*

ACCORDING to a message received from the Italian Ambassador at Angora, Signor Mussolini will refuse to keep Italian policy in any way dependent on any Turco-Greek agreement, nor will he wait for it. My colleague expects to receive instructions almost immediately to sign Turco-Italian Pact with Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[C 4153/45/19] **No. 70.**

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 18.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, May 31, 1928.*

FOLLOWING received from Angora:—

"Italian Embassy informs me that Italo-Turkish Non-aggression Pact and Arbitration Protocol were signed in Rome yesterday."

C 4152/45/19 **No. 71.**

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 31.)

(No. 81.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Rome, May 31, 1928.*

MY telegram No. 76.

Italo-Turkish Pact was signed here yesterday. Text is being published to-morrow.

(Repeated to Constantinople and Athens.)

[C 4186/45/19] **No. 72.**

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 1.)

(No. 82.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Rome, June 1, 1928.*

MY telegram No. 81.

Text duly appeared in press to-day. Preamble describes treaty as of neutrality, conciliation, and for regulation of judicial procedure. It is to run for five years from the date of exchange of ratifications and for another five years unless denounced six months before its expiry.

Points distinguishing it from other instruments of similar character appear to be:—

(*a*) Disputes as to interpretation are to be referred direct to the Court of International Justice at The Hague.

(*b*) Where permanent conciliation committee is to be set up by contracting parties, failure of either side to comply with conditions as to nomination of members will involve appointment of committee in accordance with article 45 of The Hague Convention of 18th October, 1907.

In the absence of conflicting agreements procedure for conciliation will be that prescribed by the above convention.

Full translation follows by to-morrow's mail.

[E 2871/560/44] No 73.

Sir G Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 4.)

(No. 260.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 26, 1928*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a report by His Majesty's consul at Mersina upon his recent visit to Konia.

2 The report is an interesting illustration of the administrative and social development which is going on in varying degrees all over Turkey. Konia it must be remembered has the advantage of being a comparatively big town, but it has in the past always been considered reactionary. Present efforts at progress are often made in fantastic directions, as Mr Chaly's report shows, but, in spite of such inevitable mistakes, substantial advances are being made in other directions, notably in the domain of education, where Mr Chaly was much impressed.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. 73.

Consul Chaly to Sir G Clerk

(No. 38.)

Sir, *Mersina, May 14, 1928*

I HAVE the honour to report as follows on my recent visit to Konia:—

Governor

I first called on the Governor, Izzet Bey, at the [illegible] old Konak. He is a tall dignified Turk, of something over 50, with whom I at once felt in sympathy. He said that he started life as a schoolmaster and was a teacher at Janina at the time the Vali of Mersina, Mr Izzet Bey, was a pupil. Later he was for some eight years Governor of the Yemen. He seems to be a complete autocrat and a remarkable administrator. He is the first Governor I have met who, I should say, is one of the strong pillars. He reminded me in his ways of the late Jemal Pasha, whom I knew intimately when he was Governor of Adana after the 1909 massacres. Jemal was the man who one day asked me if I would like to see how he dealt with brigands. When I said I would, he had in an enormous Kurd, all clanking in chains and fetters who he had just caught and condemned him to death in my presence. The man was strung up shortly afterwards. He had committed several murders. Izzet Bey was also pleasantly theatrical, but his exhibits were not so grim. Instead of a murderer he had in, among others, a moth-eaten old party of bygone dress and appearance, left him sitting in suppliant attitude for about a quarter of an hour on one of a long row of chairs against the wall and finally dismissed him without a word. I thought he was waiting to throw some petition at the Governor's feet, but he was nothing less than the local poet and philosopher "shown off" for the occasion. Izzet Bey asked what I would specially like to see in Konia. I said "the schools," and thereby put him in such an excellent temper that he had in the Director of Education on the spot, held up his business and talked without cessation from 11·30 to 1 over coffee and cigarettes. The Director of Education yawned exactly as the Mufti of Adana used to yawn when Jemal Pasha got talking all night about orphanages and massacre relief measures. He said to me afterwards: "Isn't the man a talker?" I replied, with truth, that he interested me very much. The Governor finally drove me away in his car, got out at his house and sent me on to my hotel. Using the Governor's car, which he had placed at our disposal, I saw schools all the afternoon with the Director of Education. Afterwards he refused all offers of tea and took me back to see the Governor again as he evidently had strict orders to do. This time he was found away from his big Konak in an old little Ingy Turkish side street. He was holding a Mejliss with local commercial notables about commercial affairs. He invited me to be present, formally introduced me to each one there and resumed proceedings over more coffee and

cigarettes with the patient Director of Education again in attendance. Talk was of protective tariffs, the manner of cheaply providing school-girls' clothes from home-produced materials, measures to encourage the flax industry and revive native embroideries, which have suffered a set back with the removal of the Greeks, &c. It was all most interesting, and I only left to receive the Governor, who insisted on coming and returning my call at the hotel. He duly followed on and I received him in the hotel private sitting. He refused to take the sofa, but had in the commandant of gendarmerie and said we would all sit round the card table and talk, which he did till it got dark. He then left, with an invitation to myself and my old friend Professor Calder, of Manchester University, who was staying in the hotel, to meet him at the Konak at 10 o'clock the following morning. This we did. Calder had come from archæologising in the villages, and the Governor, who treats my learned friend with all the respect he deserves, questioned him about the villages. He was speedily glad to hear that good public order prevailed and that a tin-roofed school was [illegible] everywhere. Further talk about Phrygians and Pamphylians and the origin of the Hittites had at last to be cut short, as Izzet Bey had been seriously interrupting his business, keeping office servants standing at attention, refusing to sign piled up letters and orders to pay salaries and driving away whispering secretaries. Begging us not to go, he got on with his work. This was most instructive to watch. A very smart engineer officer came in, and the Governor did battle with the military and the Pasha commanding the Vth Army Corps (and appeared to win) over some plans where soldiers' requirements clashed with his town improvement schemes. Petitioners were personally attended to. A weeping mother, whose child had to have some operation beyond her means, was comforted by his strict order that the best surgeon of the Government Hospital was to perform it. A dreadful old creature, who he told me was known as "Beardless Mehmed" and who looked like a reprieved murderer, had a favourable reception. He told me that he was a wealthy farmer of the old stupid kind who, at his advice, had not only put up a proper shelter for his numerous sheep—and connected it up by telephone with Konia at his own expense—but bought two tractors and sent his sons to Konia to learn to use them. A great deal more of this kind went on. He finally sent us off with the Director of Education to see the wonderful old dervish tekké, which has been [illegible] into a museum. I afterwards saw as much of the town and its environs as I could, being assisted and welcomed at every step by the kindly officials and finally by a Mussulman immigrant cab driver, a Kriti Turk, the leading spirit of a highly intelligent Turkish schoolboy from the Lycée who [illegible] Director hired, pointed out all objects of interest and very sensibly warned me to be careful of what I said to Professor Calder in the back seat as his chauffeur was an ex-prisoner of war in British hands and understood English. I then went to pay a final call on the Governor. I had come straight from seeing the new race-course and praised it at an appropriate moment, for he was closeted with another engineer officer with another plan in his hand. With a pleased smile he told the officer to hand me the plan, and it was that of a super-Ascot, neatly coloured and prepared by a Hungarian. "That," said Izzet Bey, "is what our race-course is going to be." I had already gathered from the intelligent schoolboy that the Konia race-course is to be not only the finest race-course in Turkey, but a sporting club for football, tennis, athletic sports, &c. I was quite lost in admiration. When I asked if it would not cost rather a lot, he said he feared it might and that this particular plan was not definitely adopted. I now said good-bye to Izzet Bey as I had overheard a secretary whispering that a Mejliss had been waiting for him for the last half-hour. He gravely escorted me down long corridors to the door of the Mejliss room and parted from me there. I saw him again at the railway station at 8 o'clock the next morning, and he invited me to the autumn race meeting.

Izzet Bey seemed delighted to have a British consul to talk to and expressed his views very frankly and explicitly. In the course of conversation about many subjects from tribal customs in the Yemen to the boy scout movement, which he has adopted in Konia, he said quite simply and plainly that Turkey desires England's friendship and asked, as I am asked on all sides, why British firms do not compete for public works, engage more in business or appear more on the scene, as the Germans are doing. He has a German governess for his small son, and said that they find the Germans quiet, industrious and useful people, who behave themselves sensibly and do not mix up business with propaganda, but he made it plain that they would prefer the helping hand to be British. He spoke scathingly of the Italians, who cannot move a step without their precious propaganda, and said much the same of the

French He cursed and swore at "those parasites" the Greeks and Armenians, who used to batten on the land and exploit the honest Turk behind the plough. He would not have it that there is anything that the Greeks and Armenians did that the Turks are not capable of doing. He attaches the greatest importance to education, and is evidently most active in promoting it. He said that counting village schools, he has founded over 200 schools in two and a half years. Talking of religion, he declared himself tolerant of all beliefs and willing that they should be practised in Turkey provided that they are kept clear of foreign national propaganda. He laid great stress on the importance of the system of partial self-government in the villages, where councils of elders manage their own internal affairs in their own way and without recourse to county courts (except in cases of crime) or Swiss or Italian codes, up to a moderate fine or punishment. He said this system is having the greatest success and keeping the peasants contented. From what he said and what I saw I should say that he is a wise and tolerant Governor, whole heartedly devoted to the public good. He did not deny that crime and disturbances occur, but said that the gendarmerie is competent to restore order. The Director of Education, talking of the dervishes (who, I understand, were all expelled from the country) and reaction, said that reaction has occurred in Konia but been suppressed, and that they do not fear any recrudescence.

General Appearance of Konia

2. As I observed in a former report, the Turks are beginning to alter the whole appearance of their country. Konia is a good example of this. It is in reality a most old-fashioned Turkish town and the late haunt of the Mevlevi Dervishes. It has a population of old-world Turks, Kurds, Tartars, Circassians and other races, whose origin puzzles ethnologists. Seen in their bazaars and craftsmen's [illegible] these people present a wonderfully fascinating picture. But in Konia the odd phenomenon is to be seen of the new Turks leaving these old Turks in tranquil possession of their "Native Quarter" (a first rate "sight" for tourists), and creating a modern "European Quarter" all round and about them. To a foreigner seeing it for the first time and approaching it from the German-built railway station, Konia looks wide and new and clean and virile. The air is bracing and vigorous. The town is a considerable distance from the station. Long tree-lined boulevards lead from one to the other. There is little traffic in these new streets (high fares (which would be ideal for learning to drive a car), and the whole place looks too big for its population of 50,000 to 60,000. Driving up to the town the passenger passes big new, modern schools and public buildings, European-looking villas and neatly laid out public gardens. He meets in this new quarter people in modern dress and groups of students in berets and coloured pullovers, on foot and on bicycles, and might at first easily imagine himself approaching some large Swiss or German university town. But half-way up he comes on the first of the strange contrasts that are seen in Konia. This is the significant grouping close together of three architectural structures. One is the large and handsome building designed as a refuge for the Ottoman Government when the forcing of the Dardanelles seemed imminent and now used as a male teachers' training college; the second is the little coloured mosque built for the then retreating Padishah; and the third is the very large statue of the Ghazi, the first modern statue, I believe, to be erected in Turkey. In his left hand he is holding a sheathed sword, and with the fingers of his right caressing ears of growing corn as though conjuring them out of the barren ground. The pedestal is surrounded by a large splashing fountain, and the whole is enclosed in a neatly tended triangle of greensward and is by no means unimposing. The town proper is reached with a main square, the enormous old Konak, a new bedizened bank, and other buildings. Here such contrasts may be seen as young Turks in tennis flannels passing old Turks in native costume, Turkish schoolgirls on bicycles dodging strings of camels or frisky horses being led up to the race-course, motor cars avoiding ox-carts, or a Turkish hospital nurse looking askance at such anachronisms as veiled women. Near the square are large modern shops where they sell Turkish illustrated papers of the "Tatler" type, bicycles, footballs, tennis rackets and even hockey sticks. There are further extensions of the "European Quarter" in other directions. Commanding the town is the hill of the ruined palace of the Seljuk Sultan Alaed Din, now a tree-planted park and promenade with a football ground on the top (and incidentally a powder magazine). A few hundred yards from the square one may plunge into the delights of the "Native

Quarter." Konia is a refreshing contrast to the fetid little Mediterranean "Arab town" of Mersina and the modernising but rather dour, Adana. It is, on the one hand, far more Europeanised, and, on the other, possesses a far more picturesque old Turkish element than either. The climate is infinitely better.

Material Improvements and Modern Features.

3. Konia had horse-drawn trams before the war, but the constant dust clogged the lines and they are now a bundle of scrap iron. They will scarcely now be needed. At present a rickety little Ford bus conveys passengers for 5 piastres a head from the railway station to the town square. Spacious motor charabancs would seem more in keeping with the spacious boulevards of the European Quarter, and will, perhaps, come if the town grows and prospers. At present there would seem to be in Konia fewer motor cars than in either Mersina or Adana, where, as they are nearer a seaport and enterprising agents, cars abound and multiply, and rush loudly and madly this way and that, hooting and wailing, as it were, pent up and fretting for lack of roads to go upon. In all three towns street paving is bad. But all are mending their ways, and Konia's new boulevards at present are the best. Konia is using water power for electric light and a modern plant is expected to be fully working within three months. German firms are working in all three towns. They have built for Konia several fine new schools, and a large modern building to serve as town hall and Aviating League and Red Crescent headquarters, with modern shops and business offices down below. Konia has got Mersina and Adana beat in the matter of an underground public lavatory almost as good as any in London and on the same decent model. It has several neatly laid out public gardens and two museums, the wonderful old dervish tekké, and a modern archæological museum. The former has been taken over wholesale. It is really a mausoleum, for in it are the tombs of past dervishes and of a former Grand Chelebi, all covered with palls and surrounded by the conical headdress of the departed. The other exhibits are the treasures of the tekké, illuminated books, carpets and fabrics of worth, and other rare and interesting things. The architecture of this tekké is of great beauty, and its silent and deserted precincts most impressive and soothing. I doubt if the inhabitants of Konia flock to it in their thousands (it was closing day when I saw it and had to be specially opened). I [illegible] as soon as [illegible] the Director of Education said it gave him the shivers, the curator, thinking I found it [illegible] used words to the effect: "You wait a bit, sir. We'll soon change all that and make it nice and noisy and 'trippery.'" Here is a mine of wealth for Konia. If this lovely and romantic place were properly advertised and exploited, along with the several fine mosques and the "Native Quarter," and passengers from the Calais-to-Cairo train invited to step off for a night or two and "do" them, dollars and pounds sterling galore would surely come to swell the local budget. I should be sorry to see the place thus profaned, but the Railway Administration must be asleep if they do not put this idea into practice. Konia will soon have ready a large modern post and telegraph office to replace the dirty little den that at present does duty as such there, as in most Turkish towns. I have mentioned the racecourse. This is a very fine and large flat stretch of turf, staked out, and roughly provided with wooden stands. A special road is being made to it. Konia is a horsy centre, full of Tartars and Circassians, and I should think that its race meetings might provide very good sport. The hotel at Konia is the "Bagdad" Station Hotel, built by the Germans. The building is good and was built to last, and nothing is required to modernise it but to turn out the family of greasy Kurds who at present exploit it and put in a Swiss.

For all its outward modernisation, Konia, depending economically on its agriculture, has, so far as I could learn, no definite prospects of becoming quickly rich or populous, as the Mersina–Adana region, by its natural advantages, easily might. It is at present a good healthy centre for schools and barracks, and it is [illegible] to be hoped that it will continue to be governed by a man of Izzet Bey's energy and calibre to carry on the Ghazi's policy of making something out of nothing, and justify its modernised setting and make it appropriate for some definite economic progress.

Other Features of Konia

4. Konia is largely a place of schools and soldiers. The Vth Army Corps and gendarmerie establishments are stationed there. Several old mosques are used as

barracks. There is also a large convict prison. There are a number of Moslem immigrants from Macedonia who pretend not to like the place, but who will probably flourish in the bracing climate and prove a useful element when they have got over their home-sickness. There are large hospitals, military and civil. There is a church and mission of the French Assumptionists, Pères and Sœurs. The Sœurs keep a small school. I learnt of no other foreign establishments and no foreigners except the usual Germans and Hungarians. There are a few Armenians left. Konia publishes one daily newspaper, the "Babalik," a broadsheet of some twenty years standing. I was told by a reader that it is of little account as the Constantinople papers are delivered daily by train. The mixed population of Konia strikes one as virile and intelligent and should be apt for any industrial or other developments which the future may have in store. Under the present régime, the "Native Quarter" will dissolve itself automatically in due course.

Commerce and Industry.

5. There is only one factory in Konia, a large mechanical flour mill, erected some time ago, but at the moment out of action owing to the bankruptcy of its owner. Banks are the Ottoman, Popular, Agricultural and Bank of Economy. Konia depends at present on its agriculture and live-stock. I was told that acreage under cultivation from 1925-26 increased 25 per cent. The neighbourhood produces cereals, including flax, opium, fat-tailed sheep, wool, mohair and carpets. Agricultural machinery is gaining ground. Good horses are seen in Konia. Land is largely in the hands of peasant proprietors. I was told that harvests have been bad [illegible] last years and the place is poor. Professor Calder said that he was struck by [illegible] appearance of poverty in the villages. There are several big modern shops, busier than anything in Mersina and Adana, but the shopkeepers told me that trade is at present bad. They get their supplies mostly from Constantinople. There is practically no direct trade between Konia and Europe, though a Turco-German agency has been recently formed to import agricultural machinery. Local industries, though highly picturesque to watch, are of small account. Of more than importance in the district is the carpet industry.

Schools.

6. I was immensely struck by the schools of Konia. The Director of Education took me over the male and female teachers' training colleges and one primary school. We had no time for more. There is also an École des Arts et Métiers, a lycée, and numerous others. The total pupils in the town are said to number 10,000. The Governor, as stated above, said he has founded 200 new schools in two and a half years. The Director of Education, a Constantinople teacher of mathematics, affected to despise Konia as a "brusa" provincial town. He staffed all its schools, and said they could not compare with those of Constantinople. I had never before been inside a modern Turkish school. I now saw everything from basement to dormitories. Teachers and pupils combined to give me a courteous reception, and were as friendly as they possibly could be. The patient Director of Education got to like me as soon as he saw I was interested, and kept showing me more and more. At the training colleges pupils do a five years' course from about the age of 15 to 20. Then they are fully-equipped schoolmasters or schoolmistresses. The two teachers' training colleges that I saw are big airy modern buildings, equipped on practical lines. They have plenty of sunshine and flowers, fine new pictures and pots of flowers everywhere. Everything seemed spotlessly clean, except that there was a slight aroma from the Turkish lavatories in the basements. The boys and girls looked a healthy and intelligent lot. Their discipline seemed uncannily good. They have a pretty stiff curriculum and apparently take their work very seriously. The boys were running to racket and the only sounds I heard between classes were the wailings on violins and strummings on pianos. They work without invigilators at "prep." I gathered that they have a system of prefects, and are to some extent responsible for their own discipline. Everything is run on the most economical lines, the pupils do a lot of the work which would be performed by servants in England, and scarcely any domestic staff seems to be employed. In the girls' college, the Director insisted on showing me the dormitory, one large room with 240 neat little English iron camp bedsteads for the 240 boarders. The whole place was a picture of cleanliness and order. All washing and toilet arrangements are in a separate place. All clothes and linen

are kept in lockers in a linen room. I was taken into a bright and less Spartan-looking room, used as a sick-room, where three extremely pretty girls out of the 240 were in bed, and confessed to feeling a little unwell. They bore this irruption of gentlemen without any apparent concern, smiled sweetly and went on reading their magazines, or pretending to, and only spoke when they were spoken to. We inspected the girls at work in their class rooms, and in the French class two of them were "put on" for my benefit and acquitted themselves remarkably well, though proved with hard questions by the Director of Education. French is more learnt than English, because teachers of it are more numerous. The director of the Mersina Lycée told me that English is the more popular. They use educated Moslem Cypriots to teach it down here. In Tarsus and Adana English is taught by the American missionaries. In the boys' college we went into the class-rooms between classes, and found the boys sitting about at their desks at the usual schoolboy occupations. In one room a bright youngster was found to be drawing a map of the British Isles in chalk on the blackboard. Whether previously tipped the wink to put out for a leg-pull on his own I do not know. But the map was extremely accurate, and, as I hemmed in a ring of grinning faces, I was terrified lest the Director of Education should "put me on." Luckily, he is only a maths master, and did not detect the boy when he confidently assigned Shetland to the site usually occupied by Ireland. Putting my finger as near as I could to the position of Hole Haven, and explaining that that was where I came from and I was only a villager like themselves, [illegible] and [illegible] was received with loud cheers. The Director of Education said he [illegible] to visit the laboratories (which seemed excellently equipped, but about which I know nothing). The director of the college, however, an extraordinarily intellectual looking youth, who said he came from Erzerum, and looked as though he had just obtained First in Greats, seemed rather pleased and opened the door. My previous [illegible] art in Anatolia may have seemed frivolous. Here I found material in [illegible]. Each boy, I was told, has to make one model of [illegible] one example of handwork during the term. The best models were [illegible]. They all seemed so good that I asked if they were really done by the boys or by a Hungarian. I was assured that there was no Hungarian on the premises, and that the models were really made by Turkish boys. The exhibits [illegible] reminded me of nothing so much as Lord Albert Mansfield Weir's [illegible] Russian Refugees' or Peasant Handicrafts Shop in London. They ranged from models of a windmill and a churning apparatus to entertaining designs in plasticine, toy animals and well-modelled heads of the Ghazi. The Americans had told me some time back that the handwork in Turkish schools was good. In Konia it seemed quite excellent. In the primary school which I saw was a large coloured map of Turkey. This was confessedly done by a master (*i.e.*, the schoolmaster). The Director of Education criticised the accuracy of its scale. I admired its [illegible] and it more than ever persuaded me that Anatolians are capable of art. It [illegible] in the best mediæval style, with agreeable coloured beasts and men and objects illustrating Turkey's natural products. There were ears of corn for Konia, camels for Karaman, a bale of cotton for Adana, apple-trees for Nigde, nomads for Angora &c. If things like this are done in non-technical schools, the products of the Écoles des Arts et Métiers should be very good indeed. All the schools have good playgrounds with gymnastic apparatus. At Adana the boys' gymnastics and athletic exercises are organised by a lively American woman "Social Welfare Expert" of Swedish origin, provided by the missionaries. Football and sports clubs abound in Konia, as in Adana and Mersina. The male teachers' college at Konia is provided with a fully equipped stage for theatrical entertainments. I happened to be in this school at the time when all the boys were lined up before prep as though for roll call. But this was a daily ceremony, at which they sang a solemn patriotic hymn and give three lusty roars for the long life of the Ghazi, exactly as the troops used to do for the Prince of Wales. In front of the schools there was a fountain, which seems to be going along quite simply and naturally. The teachers I saw made a favourable impression on me, and the new generation they are training would seem to be full of promise.

I have &c.
R. E. W. CHAEY

E 2872/126/44 No. 74.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 1.)

(No. 261.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 28, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 2 of the 4th January last, I have the honour to inform you that the budget for 1928-29 was voted by the Grand National Assembly on the 24th April.

The revenue as approved by the Assembly attains £T. 207,173,190 against approved expenditure amounting to £T. [illegible] as the 14th budget established by the Republic of Turkey, as the table showing a current balance.

In reporting upon the budget for 1927-28 an endeavour was made to arrive at an approximate estimate of Turkey's financial position. Notwithstanding that a considerable portion of Turkey's debt balance had been effected during the three preceding years, there still remained a debt balance estimated at approximately £T. 13-14 millions to be accounted for when the 1927-28 budget was voted, and according to the statements of the Minister of Finance during the budget debates for the forthcoming year, a debt of £T. 20 millions was admitted.

[illegible] these figures the credit balances shown in the accounts for previous years [illegible] 1927-28 [illegible] and amounting to £T. 7,258,050 [illegible] covered by over £T. 10 millions to meet Turkey's commitments under the recent provisional agreement with the Foreign Bondholders [illegible] due in respect of interest and sinking fund for the year 1928-29 [illegible]

Revenue.

6. Approved revenue amounts to £[illegible] for the current year. A surplus is therefore envisaged amounting to £T. 12,[illegible].

7. The estimates of revenue for the 1928-29 budget are based on the revenue actually derived during the first ten months of the current year as well as on surplus receipts which the Ministry of Finance hopes to obtain from certain branches of revenue as indicated in Appendix (A)* to this despatch.

8. The greater portion of the surplus envisaged, £T. [illegible],000 is to be allocated to the vote for Public Works.

9. The principal sources of revenue are the following:—

	£T.
The Profits Tax	13,300,000
The Cattle Tax	13,[illegible],000
Transaction Tax	[illegible],000
Consumption Tax	19,[illegible],000
Tobacco Monopoly	22,[illegible],000
Salt Monopoly	10,000,000
Sugar, Paraffin and Benzine Monopoly	1[illegible],000,000
Stamps	[illegible],000
Impot foncier	1[illegible],000
Customs	31,100,000
Spirit Monopoly	5,000,000

Expenditure.

10. Expenditure, as already shown above, compared to the votes for the current year, shows an increase of £T. 12,711,769, which is compensated by the surplus revenue and by cuts in the votes of certain Departments.

* Not printed.

11. The Departments whose votes have been increased are as follows:—

	£T.
Grand National Assembly	176,556
Presidency	6,101
Auditing Department	112,649
Presidency of the Council	29,848
Statistical Department	[illegible],980
Public Debt	3,503,781
Posts and Telegraphs	85,227
Public Security	918,000
Gendarmerie	1,612,785
Foreign Office	872,[illegible]
Health	1[illegible],153
Ministry of Justice	117,910
Ministry of Public Instruction	150,871
Ministry of Public Works	1,501,775
Ministry of National Economy	261,644
National Defence	175,971

National Defence represents [illegible] per cent. of the total vote.
Public Works " 17.71 " "
Ministry of Finance " 1.[illegible] "
Public Debt " [illegible] "

12. It is worthy of note that the credit allocated to the Ministry of National Economy responsible for the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the country only represents 2.11 per cent. of the total budget.

In my despatch reported in my despatch No. 2 of the 4th January on the budget estimates submitted to the Parliamentary Budget Commission, I expressed considerable doubt as to whether the surplus revenue is obtainable.

14. The Government has undoubtedly made every effort to establish more [illegible]. It has [illegible] system of accountancy on modern lines, progress has been made in the domain of Public Works with the limited resources at its disposal but taxation has reached its high-water mark. The population cannot support the increase of existing taxes or the establishment of new ones. A particularly dry season, followed by heavy falls of snow in the winter and a not too satisfactory crop prospect, are factors which seriously affect the already reduced purchasing power of the country, which is dependent on its agricultural output. Crops of recent years have not attained estimates, and the marketing of agricultural products has been faulty.

15. The [illegible] outlook of the Government is therefore sombre, and unless a saner distribution of Government expenditure is effected and a reserve created by means of a systematic and radical reduction of the Military Vote it would seem doubtful whether the Government can carry out its programme of economic development or meet, from its own resources, its heavy and increasing commitments on railway construction and other public works undertakings.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2377/560/44 No. 75

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 4.)

(No. [illegible])

Sir, *Constantinople, May [illegible], 1928.*

ON the 20th instant the Grand National Assembly voted a law making the use of European figures compulsory for all official departments as from the 1st January 1928 and for private business from June 1931, with the proviso that the Government may, if it sees fit, make the latter date earlier for certain districts.

2. In introducing the Bill, the Minister of Finance said that he anticipated no difficulty in making the change and maintained that its acceptance was essential if Turkey's commercial relations were not to suffer.

Other Deputies asked when the Government was going to introduce the long-spoken Bill for the adoption of Latin characters, and the Minister for Education explained that if the Government was delaying, it was by no means because it had given up the project, but rather because it wanted the commission entrusted with the examination of the question to make a thorough enquiry into the least disturbing means of effecting the innovation. I understand that the present idea is to make the change gradually, during a period of five years, beginning next winter with a law obliging newspapers to adopt Latin characters progressively. At the end of two years from the entry into force of this proposed law, the use of Latin characters in official and private correspondence would become optional, while after a further three years their general use would be compulsory.

4. No doubt old-fashioned Turks of all classes will be displeased by this banishment of the characters which are endeared to them by the Koran and all their religious associations and by the use of generations. But now that sermons in mosques are in Turkish, Turkish translations of the Koran freely sold, and Islam disestablished and generally at a discount, the change to Latin characters is a comparatively small one. Scientifically the change is sound. The Arabic alphabet is totally unsuited for the writing of Turkish. [illegible] Clothed in the less forbidding garb of European letters the written language will become more easily acquired not only by the foreigner but also by the Turkish people.

This tendency to fall in with the ways of the western world is also shown by the present attitude towards the day of rest. During the high-tide of nationalism Christians and Jews were rigorously prevented from opening their shops and offices on Friday. Consequently they had perforce to open on Sunday and Saturday, since they wished to lose their trade. There is now a strong movement among the political leaders at Angora for adopting Sunday as the day of rest.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2878 128 44 — No. 76

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 4.)

(No. 208.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May [illegible], 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the first session of the third National Assembly closed on the 24th instant, when the President, Kiazim Pasha, delivered a short speech extolling the virtues of the Assembly in general and of its members in particular. The latter free alike from attendance at the Chamber and from a further stay in Angora by the simultaneous conclusion of the official visit of the King and Queen of Afghanistan, have lost no time in abandoning the heat and dust of the Anatolian plateau for the more congenial conditions of the Bosphorus, the Ghazi himself is expected shortly to arrive in Constantinople and the capital (in so far at least as administrative activity is concerned) is now about to enjoy its annual summer.

2. Unlike its predecessor of 1927, the close of the session was not marked by any great legislative activity. In its closing days, however, the Assembly found time to vote the new Law on Turkish nationality, which has been under careful study for the last two years, and the Law providing for the adoption of European numerals. I shall have the honour to address you separately regarding the provisions and significance of both these measures, which, with the laws providing for the disestablishment of Islam and for the introduction of a new system of administration in the Eastern provinces, must be regarded as the major achievements of the past session.

3. It may perhaps be noted that in his valedictory address the President of the Assembly advised the Deputies to utilise the interval before the reassembly of parliament in November next for studying at close hand the particular needs of the country. There is ample evidence that this behest has come from the President of the Republic himself, as considerable numbers of Deputies are making plans for visiting their constituencies, which hitherto have for them been largely *terra incognita*. Such a development can naturally only have beneficial results, and is, moreover, a symptom of the confidence which the Ghazi reposes in the Assembly of his choice, for, though at times during the winter there were distant rumblings as of approaching storms, none has materialised, and, judging superficially at least, the internal political barometer is high and steady.

4. It is, nevertheless, probable that beneath the surface there are certain not altogether contented elements. The secretary-general of the Popular party has himself confessed privately that he must drive his team with a tight rein, and of late there have been frequent rumours of the formation among the so-called "intellectuals" of the party of an embryo Opposition. This, however, may be no more than a cave such as can normally be expected to develop in an arbitrarily chosen Assembly, and there is as yet no reason to suppose that their ideas or ideals are at variance with those of the national leader, or that, should they even be able to coalesce into an Opposition, they would constitute a serious menace to the present regime, whose control over the country is as complete as it ever has been.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

N 2963 2 97 — No. 77

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 4.)

(No. 216.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 30, 1928.*

With reference to my despatch No. 256 of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report that their Majesties the King and Queen of Afghanistan arrived in this country on their state visit on the 19th May last. The visit started officially the previous day at Sebastopol, whither a Turkish delegation, composed of Generals Fahreddine and Essat Pashas, had repaired to welcome them on behalf of the President of the Republic and of the Turkish nation. In addition to their suite their Majesties were accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador at Moscow and the Turkish Minister at Kabul.

2. The journey from Sebastopol was made on board the Turkish steamer "Izmir" and under the escort of a Turkish flotilla. At the entrance to the Bosphorus the escort was reinforced by further units of the Turkish navy and a squadron of the Turkish air force. They were met by the Vali and the principal officials of Constantinople, under whose Majesties were conveyed to Haidar Pasha. On their arrival at Dolma Bagtche a royal salute was fired by the assembled fleet, and the greeting was taken up by the sirens of all the ships assembled in the port. On landing, their Majesties proceeded straight to the station platform where a guard of honour was drawn up for inspection.

3. Their Majesties reached Angora the following morning and were met at the station by the President of the Republic, all the members of the Council, and other high officials. They were then accompanied by the President to the suite of rooms which had been specially fitted up for their reception at the Ankara Palace Hotel.

4. In the afternoon their Majesties paid an official visit to the President of the Republic, who then accompanied them to the Grand National Assembly to witness the presentation of independence medals to some hundred fortunate Turks who had deserved well of the republic.

5. In the evening the President gave an official dinner in their Majesties' honour, at which the Cabinet and other Turkish officials, but no foreigners, were present. It was at this banquet that the President delivered the speech of which I had the honour to enclose a copy in my despatch referred to above.

6. On the 21st May their Majesties received the Diplomatic Corps at 11.30 A.M. and in the afternoon attended the races. In the evening an official dinner, followed by a reception was given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which was attended by the President of the Republic, the Diplomatic Corps, the members of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly and the higher officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. On this occasion the King talked with me for some time on general topics, partly in French and partly through an interpreter. He enquired after the health of their Majesties the King and Queen, and said that he had the happiest memories of his visit to England.

7. On the following day their Majesties left the Angora Palace Hotel to take up their residence in a palace villa, situated near the Ghazi's house, which had been [illegible] by a certain Midhat Bey, Deputy for Marash. In the evening they gave a banquet in honour of the President of the Republic, the Cabinet and high Turkish officials. On this occasion no foreigners were present.

[illegible] the 23rd May their Majesties gave a banquet and reception at the Angora Palace Hotel to which the President of the Republic, the high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Corps were invited.

3. That completed the official part of the programme and their Majesties spent the remaining four days of their stay quietly at Cankaya. The interval was further employed in negotiating the treaty in which I have had the honour to report in my despatch No. 27 of to-day's date.

4. Their Majesties left Angora on the 27th May. There had been talk of their paying a visit to Smyrna and the Gallipoli battlefields but these projects were abandoned and they came straight to Constantinople arriving here on the morning of the 28th May. Their arrival was a most imposing procession with a salute by the Turkish fleet, which escorted the Royal Yacht to the Presidential palace at Dolma Bagtche. There they will spend four days before continuing their journey. A Turkish battleship has already arrived to escort them to Brindisi which is now anchored in the Bosphorus off Dolma Bagtche.

5. The Valide's arrangements for the programme to be gone through during their stay here are not yet known in detail. The Royal party will take part in a state visit to the Sultan's tomb at Eyoub, and probably will visit the Sultan's palace at Yildiz. They are also expected to pay a visit to the Grand Bazaar.

6. Their Majesties left behind them a number of gifts which they had received from the President of the Republic and from various other Turkish notabilities. [illegible] Majesty's Government [illegible] Majesty [illegible] Angora presented [illegible] Majesty [illegible] Majesty [illegible] Bosphorus [illegible] part [illegible]

I have &c.

(Signed) CLERK

E 2879 600 44 [illegible]

Sir C. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received June 1)

(No. [illegible])

Constantinople, May 30, 1925.

WITH reference to my despatch No. [illegible] of the 28th May, I have the honour to report that the [illegible] with the French Ambassador [illegible] Angora on the 23rd May [illegible] Angora on the 25th May [illegible] Ismet Pasha presented to Angora by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs [illegible] Ismet Pasha [illegible] Ismet Pasha [illegible] Ismet Pasha

le bénéfice des mesures existant et qui me et considéreés comme utiles et nécessaires à l'autre et à aider celle-ci à cet égard, à l'effet de contribuer au progrès et au développement des deux États et nations.

ARTICLE 5.

La République turque s'engage à mettre à la disposition du Gouvernement afghan les spécialistes en matière de droit, de science et d'art militaire dont l'Afghanistan lui demanderait, en vue de contribuer au progrès intellectuel et militaire de ce pays.

ARTICLE 6.

Les sujets des deux États jouiront réciproquement du traitement de la nation la plus favorisée dans leurs relations commerciales mutuelles, ainsi que pour les conditions de leur séjour, dans le territoire de l'un ou de l'autre des deux États contractants. Néanmoins, les deux parties contractantes pourront, d'autre part, conclure séparément des conventions de commerce et de séjour, ainsi que des conventions consulaires, de postes et télégraphes et d'extradition.

ARTICLE 7.

Chacune des deux parties contractantes jouira d'une entière liberté dans leurs relations avec les autres États en dehors des engagements contractés en vertu du présent traité.

ARTICLE 8.

Le présent traité est rédigé en langue turque et persane. Les deux textes font foi au même titre.

ARTICLE 9.

Les ratifications [illegible] instruments [illegible] aussi bref délai possible. L'échange des textes [illegible] Article 1er du traité sont valables [illegible] autres articles sont valables pour une durée de dix ans. A moins que le présent traité n'ait pas été dénoncé par l'une des deux parties six mois avant la date de son expiration, il sera considéré *ipso facto* valable pour une année encore. En cas de dénonciation du traité, celui-ci cessera d'être valable six mois après la date de la dénonciation.

Les délégués des deux Gouvernements, ayant reconnu [illegible] avec les dispositions des neuf articles ci-dessus, ont signé le présent traité.

Fait à Angora, en double exemplaire [illegible]

DR. TEWFIK RUCHDI
GULAM SADIK

Protocole.

Les délégués des deux États qui viennent de signer le Traité d'Amitié et de Collaboration avec l'Afghan, en date d'aujourd'hui, sont tombés d'accord sur les dispositions suivantes :

Il a été établi entre les hautes parties contractantes une collaboration dans le domaine [illegible].

Les délégués spécialistes compétents des deux parties contractantes délibéreront dans le plus bref délai possible, tant au sujet de cette collaboration qu'au sujet [illegible] pour les services de transport entre les deux pays et des mesures possibles à prendre à cet égard.

Ce protocole a également été signé par les délégués des deux parties contractantes, comme faisant partie intégrante du traité, le [illegible] 1928.

DR. TEWFIK RUCHDI
GULAM SADIK

[E 2881/18/44] No. 79.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 4.)

(No. 272.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 30, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 243 of the 17th May last, I have the honour to report that the Swedish Minister told me last week at Angora that the negotiations which had been carried on between the Turkish Government and the Swedish group were being brought to an amicable conclusion. The Government had recognised that the increase in the estimate of cost presented by the Swedish group was justified by the alterations in the gauge of the line and by the modifications in the *tracé* which were insisted upon, for strategical reasons, after the contract was signed.

2. On the other hand, from another good source I am now informed that the difference between the two parties persists. According to my informant, the Swedish group's final estimate for the work to be executed was 127 million dollars as compared with the original estimate of 80 million dollars. The latter was at the time regarded as only approximate and in the original contract both the Turkish Government and the group concerned took measures against the eventuality of the final cost being below or above the estimated figure. The final estimate, two and a quarter times the original one, came as a rude shock to the Turkish Government, who at once intimated that it was unacceptable. Examination showed that the gauge and *tracé* modifications asked for by the Turks were responsible for 15 million dollars of the increase, and negotiations, which, so my informant says, have at the moment little prospect of success, are in progress with a view to reaching some sort of settlement.

3. Moreover the group, who have the [illegible] their obligation that they [illegible] complete the work within the contracted period of five years have a bargaining counter in the fact that they have encashed something like 7 million dollars of bonds, and have only executed some 4 million dollars worth of work.

4. I have no reason to [illegible] correct, and I have no reason to doubt his [illegible] ground for my Swedish colleague's optimism. In spite of these [illegible] objections, the modification of the original scheme on the lines [illegible] in my despatch under reference may ultimately provide an exit from the present *impasse*, but, whatever the final solution, the experience of the Swedish group should provide still another warning, which one would by this time have thought superfluous both to the Turkish Government and to foreign concessionary groups against undertaking colossal public works and other schemes without thorough preparation and investigation.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 3088/255/44] No. 80.

Mr. Dodd to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 18.)

(No. 160.)

Sir, *Sofia, June 7, 1928.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 148 of the 3rd ultimo regarding the emigration of Turks from Bulgaria into Turkey, I have the honour to report that I availed myself of a visit paid me by the first secretary of the Turkish Legation yesterday to question him about this subject.

2. Djelal Osman Bey talked freely, but I have little to add to previous reports from this Legation as a result of our conversation.

3. The Turkish Legation would seem from time to time to make representations to the Bulgarian Government when a more flagrant case than usual of ill-treatment of Turks is brought to their notice. But the Bulgarian Government, while admitting the truth of these protests, admits that it is powerless to restrain the local elements from cruelties which itself it deplores.

4. The emigrants come from [illegible] districts where there are Bulgarian refugees, from places to the north of Bulgaria [illegible] Shumla as well as in the south like Pashmakli or near the Turkish frontier. Turks and Moslems object to having Bulgarians and Christians forcibly quartered on them in their houses. And when they see the surveyors enter their lands to take the cadastral survey the Turks know well enough that it will not be long before their property is taken from them.

5. I was amused to hear Djelal Bey speak of "the Turkish religion" after admitting a moment before the laicisation of the Turkish State.

6. Those who thus depart are Turkish subjects. They come to the frontier destitute but with their Turkish passports in order. Turks (*i.e.*, Moslems) of Bulgarian nationality—who are called Pomaks by the Bulgarians but not by Djelal Bey—cannot obtain passports from the Bulgarian Government, and however much they may wish to emigrate are prevented from doing so.

7. Since I had heard a report that the Turkish Government, while embarrassed to raise the money required to start these refugees upon their new life, were secretly glad to receive them into Turkey in order to repeople Thrace, I enquired where the Turkish authorities settled them. My interlocutor replied that a few might be given land in Thrace, but the majority were transported to Anatolia, especially to the Kerasun district and to Magnesia, south of Smyrna, where the soil was more fertile than in Thrace.

8. Fortunately, most of the emigrants were farmers, and were soon on their legs again if assisted to start by the Government.

9. The emigration, he said, is in accordance with the Establishment Convention of the 18th October, 1925, article 2. But the liquidation of the properties is hardly such as was contemplated there, since the emigrants realise nothing or next to nothing on them.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
CHARLES DODD.

[E 3083/3083/44] No. 81.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 18.)

(No. 282.)
Sir, *Constantinople, June 12, 1928.*

I HAVE had the honour to receive your despatch No. 316 of the 1st instant enclosing a despatch from His Majesty's Minister to the Holy See, in which Sir Odo Russell reported the decision of the Armenian Synod in Rome to relieve Mgr. Nazlian of his duties and so to confer on Mgr. Terzian full and undisputed jurisdiction over his Patriarchate.

2. In practice it seems doubtful if the result of this decision will be so far-reaching. What has actually happened is that Mgr. Nazlian has dropped out and that his place, for all practical purposes as *locum tenens*, has been taken by Mgr. Rocossian, who has been associated with the work of Mgr. Nazlian since the armistice. The change seems to have been welcomed by the Armenian Catholic community, in which the disputes of a year ago have given place to an atmosphere of calm and co-operation. The attitude of the community towards the Patriarch has, however, in no wise been modified, and this fact, together with the objections of the Turkish Government, will probably constitute for some time an effective ban on the return of Mgr. Terzian to Constantinople.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3127/43/44] No. 82.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 22.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, June 19, 1928.*

MY telegram No. 13 from Angora.

Turco-Greek negotiations regarding exchange questions, which have continued since signature of Turco-Italian pact, have now been broken off by Turkish Government, which has insisted on referring all the questions back to the Exchange Commission. It is, at the same time, taking steps to liquidate the property of Hellenic subjects in

Constantinople for the benefit of non-exchangeable Turks, whose property has not been restored in Greece.

It would seem that, having got its pact with Italy, the Turkish Government feels free to put pressure upon Greece.

Despatch by bag.

(Repeated to Athens.)

[E 3218/43/44] No. 83.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 25.)

(No. 295.)
Sir, *Constantinople, June 18, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch which I have received from His Majesty's consul at Mersina regarding an Italian consular appointment at Adalia, and pointing out the change which has taken place during the last two years in the Italian attitude towards Turkey.

2. When, in November 1926, two members of my staff visited Cilicia, the Italian consul-general at Mersina was at no pains to hide his belief that at no distant date the flag of Savoy would be waving in the fertile Cilician plain, and there was ample evidence that Turkey was aware of, and ready if necessary to counter, these designs. Now, as Mr. Chafy reports, his Italian colleague has completely changed his tune, and by the recent pact the lion and the lamb have lain down together. Nor is the change of feeling confined to Cilicia. The Turks are inordinately pleased at having scotched the Italian menace, references of the most friendly nature to Italy and of Signor Mussolini appear almost daily in the Government press, and there is much talk of Turco-Italian economic co-operation. Everything, indeed, goes to show that the recent agreement has opened the door for considerable Italian economic expansion in this country, and it will be surprising if Italian enterprise does not take full advantage of this opportunity.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 83.

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 41.)
Sir, *Mersina, June 13, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 18 of the 6th March last on Italian consular movements, I have the honour to report that Baron Bernardo Quaranta di San Severino has arrived and taken up his post as vice-consul at Adalia, which apparently depends at present on the Italian consulate-general here, though it may be placed under Smyrna.

2. My colleague tells me that San Severino is a man of 60, and was engaged in official propaganda during the war. He writes books, as stated in my former despatch, and brought with him to Adalia an English lady secretary. He is apparently not salaried, but volunteered for patriotic service in the Near East.

3. My colleague here remains placidly at his post, looking wizened and suffering from bouts of fever. He has entirely changed the tune he played two years ago, and now dismisses as absurd inventions the rumours then current of Italian aims in this part of Turkey. From what I have learnt of the feelings of the Turks in this region and of what their Chettés did to the French and their satellites, I think it is just as well that Italy has abandoned all aggressive schemes in Asia Minor. I cannot believe that they would have been more successful than the French in dealing with Turks. Neither race seems to treat them in the right way.

4. The Italians here, with a number of long-established business firms on the spot, subsidised shipping and a lion's share of the foreign trade already in their hands, will be slow indeed if they do not pacifically profit by the recent Italo-Turkish Agreement. The S.I.C.M.A.T., as already reported, is a powerful Jewish firm of Trieste which is stretching out its tentacles in this region. It has done much to replace the former Greek usurers and should realise handsome profits on the money advanced to cultivators on this year's harvest, which promises to be good. The S.I.C.M.A.T. has

also taken a hand in the exploitation of factories in combination with Syrian or other local industrialists. This region particularly needs foreign capital and co-operation, but whether any number of noble propagandists will succeed in persuading its barbarous but somewhat shrewd population that Italians are a noble race and are not bent on sucking their blood by one means or another is another matter. I only speak from what I have seen and observed down here, where I can say with confidence that the French are hated, the Italians suspected, the Germans found to be useful workers with the bully now thoroughly beaten out of them, and that one Yorkshire mill mechanic is better liked than a legion of foreign collaborators of any other nation.

I have, &c.

R. E. W. CHAFY.

[E 3219/128/44] No. 84.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 25.)

(No. 297.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 18, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the President of the Republic arrived on the 5th instant at Constantinople, where it is understood that he will reside during the greater part of the summer.

2. An eleventh hour effort was made to work up an enthusiastic reception for his Excellency, but on this occasion the element of novelty was lacking, and for the most part the distinguished arrival seems to have made little difference in the life of the ex-capital. Ceremonial was reduced to a minimum, but a deputation, consisting almost entirely of Deputies and high officials, met the presidential train at Ismid and travelled on it to Haidar Pasha. Thence the Ghazi proceeded by car to Scutari pier and quickly crossed the Bosphorus to the Palace of Dolma Baghtche, which a few days before had been vacated by the King and Queen of Afghanistan.

3. The entire town was suitably bedlagged for the occasion, one week's flag-waving having been officially decreed, ferry services were suspended for some hours and triumphal arches made their appearance in Stamboul and Pera even more magically than did certain gardens in Angora in the week preceding the Afghan royal visit. The coffers of the municipality were empty, but due honour had to be paid to the creator of the republic, and so application was made to the Jews. The latter, whether unwilling or not, were not in a position to refuse, and the necessary funds were made available.

4. During his stay in Constantinople the Ghazi is the honoured guest of the city, and it is worthy of notice that, as was the case last year, he has chosen quite a different set of companions from that which does duty at Chan Kaya. Of the latter, Falih Rifki, Rushen Eshref and Yacub Kadri Beys are in Paris; Salvet Bey, the secretary-general of the People's party, remains on duty at Angora; and the Ghazi has here surrounded himself with his friends of earlier days, such as Kilij Ali and Salih Beys, who are kept at arm's length in the capital. For months these latter have generally been assumed to be in permanent disgrace, and their presence here is inexplicable, unless, as is suggested, the Ghazi thinks it best to spike their guns by himself keeping an eye on them when he is absent from Angora. Whatever the explanation, the result is hardly complimentary to Stamboul, and is, moreover, not unlikely to be injurious to the health of the Ghazi, over whose manner of life his Angora friends have for some months past endeavoured, with evident success, to exercise a beneficial control.

5. At the moment, however, the Ghazi seems to be living quietly, and no word of excesses has yet reached my ear. He has made several tours of the city by car, and on most evenings takes the air on board his launch on the Bosphorus. No Minister is in attendance, the Minister of the Interior, who accompanied him here, having returned to Angora preparatory to making a tour of the eastern provinces. Ismet Pasha remains in Angora, but will shortly come here; Tewfik Rushdi Bey seems to hesitate between a further journey at the end of the month to Geneva and a cure at Smyrna or elsewhere for his rheumatism; while the other Ministers, if they have not already left Angora, are full of plans for official journeys which will take them away from the worst of the heat and dust of the capital.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3220/43/44] No. 85.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 25.)

(No. 299.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 18, 1928.*

IT may be nothing more than a coincidence that, since the conclusion of the Turco-Italian Pact, this country has appeared to take a stronger line in her dealings with her neighbours. Those with Greece are at the moment very obscure, but I hope at an early date to be able to obtain some light on them.

2. As regards Bulgaria, there is evidence that her refusal, reported in Mr. Dodd's despatch No. 146 of the 28th May, to embark on negotiations for the conclusion of a Turco-Bulgarian Pact has caused some slight bitterness. This has taken shape in a campaign, launched this week by all the press, against the Thracian Committee. The latter is accused of propaganda in favour of the incorporation of Adrianople in Bulgaria and its organ, the "Journal de la Thrace," of containing in nearly every number hostile references to Turkey. Moreover, these activities are stated to be favourably viewed by the Bulgarian Government in spite of the latter's constant reiteration of its sincere friendship for Turkey, and relations are not improved by the treatment meted out by the Bulgarian authorities to the Turks in Bulgaria. That country is therefore warned that the time has come for her actions to be more in accord with her words and for the adoption towards Bulgarian Moslems of an attitude corresponding more closely to the respect and courtesy with which the Bulgarian elements are alleged to be treated in Turkey.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Sofia.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3222/18/44] No. 86.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 25.)

(No. 301.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 20, 1928.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 104 of the 16th February last and to subsequent communications relative to railway construction in Turkey, I have the honour to inform you that a certain M. Hermann, President of the Otto Liedkes Lieben Consortium of Halle, recently passed through Constantinople on his way to Angora in order to submit proposals on behalf of his group for the construction of the remaining sections of the Caesarea–Tourbal-Sivas railway, which formed the greater portion of the Belgian contract denounced by the Turkish Government. M. Hermann is accompanied by a M. Erbe, a director, and M. Weber, an expert engineer, in the service of the Otto Liedkes Lieben Consortium.

2. This combine, including the Landwehr Manufacturers of Locomotives and Coaches and a number of German steel factories belonging to the German Steel Trust, is supported by the Herton Franke Industrial Bank and other financial institutions, as well as by the German Government itself, which, it is stated, is prepared to guarantee payment (up to 60 per cent.) to manufacturers in respect of all material furnished to the Turkish Government.

3. The consortium is considered to be a powerful union of railway and port constructors, contracting for railways, ports and inland waterways, and is reported to have constructed the Port of Kiel and to have erected powerful hydraulic installations in the vicinity of Frankfort.

4. The commercial secretary to this Embassy learns that M. Hermann has already got into touch with Behidj Bey, the Minister of Public Works, to whom he has submitted proposals connected with a general scheme governing railway construction and other public works, and has also established relations with the Association of Turkish Engineers with the object of forming a Turco-German company, in the hope that a company so constituted would be looked upon with favour by the Turkish Government and serve to remove competitors such as Fox Brothers from the field of operations.

5. As regards the dispute between the Turkish Government and the Swedish group, referred to in my despatch No. 272 of the 30th May last, it would appear that an agreement has now been reached in principle, and, as a result, the Turkish

Government have paid to the group through the Banque agricole the sum of 1,632,000 dollars on account of the work in progress. Payment of this amount due under the terms of the contract was withheld by the Minister of Public Works pending the settlement of the dispute.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3223/1223/44] No. 87.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 25.)

(No. 307.)

Sir, *Constantinople, June 21, 1928.*

IN my telegram No. 22 of the 19th June I reported that the Turkish Government had broken off the negotiations with the Greeks regarding the questions arising out of the exchange of populations and were taking steps to liquidate the property of non-exchangeable Greeks in Constantinople.

2. It may be useful if I take this opportunity briefly to recapitulate the various phases through which this complicated question has passed since the Lausanne settlement. That settlement, as you are aware, provided for the compulsory exchange of the Moslem inhabitants of Greece against the Greek inhabitants of Turkey, exceptions being made, on the one hand, of the "established" Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace, and, on the other hand, of the "established" Greek inhabitants of Constantinople, both of which categories were permitted to remain in their homes. The settlement further provided for the liquidation of the immovable property of the emigrants. At the same time the properties of Hellenic subjects in Turkey and of Turkish subjects in Greece, as well as those of Greeks and Moslems who had left Turkey and Greece respectively before the 18th October, 1912 (*i.e.*, the persons who subsequently came to be known as non-exchangeables), were to be restored to their owners.

3. The terms of these arrangements unfortunately proved impossible of execution from the first, if for no other reason than that of the influx into Greece of 1,500,000 refugees who were not unnaturally settled upon any land found available and largely upon the Moslem properties which had under the Greek Declaration at Lausanne to be restored to their owners.

4. Further negotiations therefore ensued, ending finally in the agreement signed at Athens on the 1st December, 1926, but not before the Turkish Government had brought heavy pressure to bear in the shape of the so-called law of reprisals of the 19th January, 1925 (Rizzo, Volume III, pp. 52–53), whereby its authorities were empowered to administer the immovable property of absent Hellenic subjects and distribute the revenues among Turkish subjects who had left Greece before the 18th October, 1912 (non-exchangeables), or who, having always lived outside Greece, were prevented from enjoying their property in Greece. The Turkish Government undertook by the Athens Agreement to revoke this exceptional measure. Apart from that, the principal feature of the agreement was to substitute for the *restoration* of properties provided for at Lausanne a system whereby each Government should acquire the properties in question on agreed conditions of valuation, and eventually a balance of accounts was to be struck which, it was assumed, would be in favour of the Turks; the Greek Government, indeed, agreed to earmark £500,000 to cover at least part of the anticipated debit. It should be added, however, that certain categories of property were expressly excepted from the new system. These were in Greece the urban properties of Turkish subjects and "non-exchangeable" Moslems outside Western Thrace and *all* Moslem properties (rural and urban) in Western Thrace; in Turkey there were the properties of Hellenic subjects and "non-exchangeable" Greeks in Constantinople. These categories of property were to be restored to their owners within one month of the coming into force of the agreement. A further feature of the new agreement was to confirm the declaration signed at Angora on the 21st June, 1925, but never ratified, defining the term "établi" as used in the Lausanne Convention.

5. Before going further, it may clarify matters to distinguish the various categories of persons whose status and property have thus come to be dealt with. These are:—

(1.) Greeks expelled from Turkey under the Lausanne Convention. Their property was to be liquidated.

(2.) Moslems expelled from Greece under the Lausanne Convention. Their property was similarly to be liquidated.

(3.) Greeks "established" in Constantinople. These were Turkish subjects, and they were to retain their property. It should be added, however, that the property they hold outside Constantinople is a source of difficulty, for, since they are forbidden to travel in Turkey, they cannot in practice enjoy possession of such property, and discussions are on foot in the Exchange Commission whereby the Turkish Government should buy the properties up. Their total value is said to be considerable.

(4.) Moslems "established" in Western Thrace. These were Greek subjects, and they were to retain their property.

(5.) Hellenic subjects who held property in Constantinople. This property, if it had been seized, was to be restored.

(6.) Turkish subjects who held property in Western Thrace. This property was to be restored.

(7.) Hellenic subjects who held property in parts of Turkey other than Constantinople. This property was to be acquired by the Turkish Government and compensation paid.

(8.) Turkish subjects who held property in parts of Greece other than Western Thrace. This, if urban property, was in principle to be restored; if rural property, it was to be acquired by the Greek Government and compensation paid.

(9.) Greeks who had left Turkey before the 18th October, 1912, and held property in Constantinople. This property, if it had been seized, was to be restored.

(10.) Moslems who had left Greece before the 18th October, 1912, and held property in Western Thrace. This property was to be restored.

(11.) Greeks who had left Turkey before the 18th October, 1912, and held property in parts of Turkey other than Constantinople. This property was to be acquired by the Turkish Government and compensation paid.

(12.) Moslems who had left Greece before the 18th October, 1912, and held property in parts of Greece other than Western Thrace. This property, if urban, was in principle to be restored; if rural, it was to be acquired by the Greek Government and compensation paid.

(13.) Finally, Greeks who had fled from Turkey after the *débâcle* in 1922 either with false passports or without passports at all. The Exchange Commission decided that they might dispose of their property by proxy, the Turkish Government having refused to allow them back into Turkey on any pretext.

6. It may well be imagined that without the maximum of goodwill on both sides, an agreement of such complication would prove difficult to execute in practice. The necessary quality was unfortunately lacking on both sides. It seems clear on the one hand that the Greek Government, in signing the Athens Agreement, had put their signature to an agreement which they must have known they could not carry out, while the Turks on their side showed an equal disregard of their obligations. The Greek Government were unable to expel the refugees from the lands in Western Thrace that ought to have been handed back to their Moslem owners, while the Turkish Government for their part continued to apply the law of reprisals which they had expressly undertaken to repeal. Moreover, the valuation of the properties which were to be acquired by the two Governments proved a matter of immense complication, the Greek Government contending with perhaps some justice that the value of land in Greece, where land was scarce and labour plentiful, was infinitely greater than in Turkey, where land was plentiful and labour scarce. A further difficulty was that the Turkish Government reopened, on a point of interpretation, the question of "établis" which had already been settled by the Athens and Angora Agreements. Each side accused the other of chicanery and bad faith, and the Exchange Commission meanwhile continued its impotent existence, vainly endeavouring to settle problems with little assistance from either party to the disputes.

7. Such was the situation at the beginning of the present year, when the Turkish Government came forward with the drastic proposal that the Greek Government should forthwith pay over the £500,000 earmarked in the Athens Agreement, that the question of "établis" should be settled once and for all by the expulsion of 20,000 Greeks from Constantinople and that the Mixed Commission should be thereupon abolished. The proposal as it stood was naturally not acceptable to the Greek Government, who argued that it was still to be proved whether the

balance of payment would be unfavourable to them or not, and who could see no justification for the indiscriminate expulsion of 20,000 Greeks from Constantinople.

8. The next important stage in the discussions was on the occasion of Tewfik Rushdi Bey's journey to Geneva in April last, when he brought up the whole question in conversation with M. Michalacopoulos. It seems, however, that by then he had departed from his previous idea of immediately abolishing the Exchange Commission.

9. From that time onwards the question became inextricably mixed up with the Italo-Greco-Turkish Pact negotiations. To an observer in Angora it looked as though the Greek Government was counting on the unwillingness of Italy to conclude a pact with Turkey without the simultaneous conclusion of a pact between Turkey and Greece, and, in this belief, refused to enter into any treaty of security with Turkey until the outstanding questions concerning the exchange were settled. If this was the opinion of the Greek Government, events proved it wrong, and in any case the Italians signed a pact without Greece, thereby changing the situation to the disadvantage of that country.

10. Even so, the suddenness of Turkey's recent action in breaking off the negotiations has come with some surprise, for it was only a bare fortnight ago that the semi-official "Milliet" was still anticipating an early settlement of Greco-Turkish difficulties. Turkey's action seems to have come with equal surprise to the Greek member of the Exchange Commission, who has, in conjunction with the Greek Minister, been conducting the negotiations on the Greek side at Angora.

11. M. Diamantopoulos has informed a member of my staff that the negotiations were proceeding with every hope of an early solution. There were three points of importance, and there seemed every probability that some form of arbitration would be agreed for each one. They were: (1) the question of the "établis"; the proposal was to invite the three neutral members of the commission to decide the point; (2) the question of the property of non-exchangeables (*i.e.*, of categories IX, X, XI and XII in paragraph 5 above); the proposal here was to invite the newly-elected member of the commission to propound a settlement; and (3) the question of the £500,000. Other outstanding points there were, but they were not expected to cause great difficulty.

12. Now, continued M. Diamantopoulos, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had suddenly broken off the negotiations and insisted upon referring the whole problem back to the Mixed Commission. In other words, the question was back where it had been six months ago, and though it was the Turks who had originally proposed the early abolition of the commission, it was they who now insisted upon keeping that body alive.

13. Nor has the Turkish Government confined itself to breaking off negotiations. It has also approved a measure that goes further than the original law of reprisals. By that law, as I have already indicated, the Turkish Government sequestrated the properties of Hellenes and non-exchangeables in this country and seized their revenues. The present measure goes further, and provides for the liquidation of these properties, which are now to be handed over to those Turks who have failed to obtain adequate compensation for the properties they owned in Greece. Application of this measure has for the moment been postponed, but the mere threat to apply it should be a powerful instrument in the hands of the Turks.

14. The immediate cause of this sudden change of attitude on the part of the Turkish Government is not easy to define. M. Diamantopoulos states that the present Minister of Finance, who was formerly chief Turkish delegate on the Exchange Commission, was always a violent opponent of any reasonable settlement and may have made his will felt at Angora. Again, it is believed that there are personages in the country of considerable influence who are financially interested in obtaining the maximum of compensation for the Turkish properties in Greece. In this connexion it is noteworthy that the Association of Turkish "non-exchangeables" had as members of its organising committee certain powerful Deputies. There is, lastly, a simpler theory, which is that the Turk is an animal of little self-control; he feels that, armed with his Italian Pact and with the certainty that Greece is unable to honour the Athens Agreement to which she has put her signature, he has the whip hand. He therefore is determined to exploit his advantage to the full.

15. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 3257/1223/44] No. 88.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(*Received June 26.*)

(No. 123.)

(Telegraphic.) R. *Athens, June 26, 1928.*

TURKISH Minister tells me position as regards Greco-Turkish negotiations is that Turkish Government ended by accepting Greece's proposal to arbitrate properties both of exchangeables and non-exchangeables (see my telegram No. 78), and proposed as arbitrators the three neutral members of the Mixed Commission (see Constantinople telegram No. 14). Greek Government, however, refused (see Angora telegram No. 13), and wanted a single arbitrator to liquidate everything. Turks considered this proposal impracticable and rejected it. Negotiations are therefore suspended until Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs returns from his cure abroad.

Properties in Constantinople of which usufruct is being given to Muasulmans whose properties in Greece have not been restored under article 9 of agreement of December 1926 (see Constantinople telegram No. 22) do not belong to either category mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.

(Confidential.)

I surmise Greek objection to arbitrators proposed by Turks is due to their distrust of the Spanish member of the commission.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)